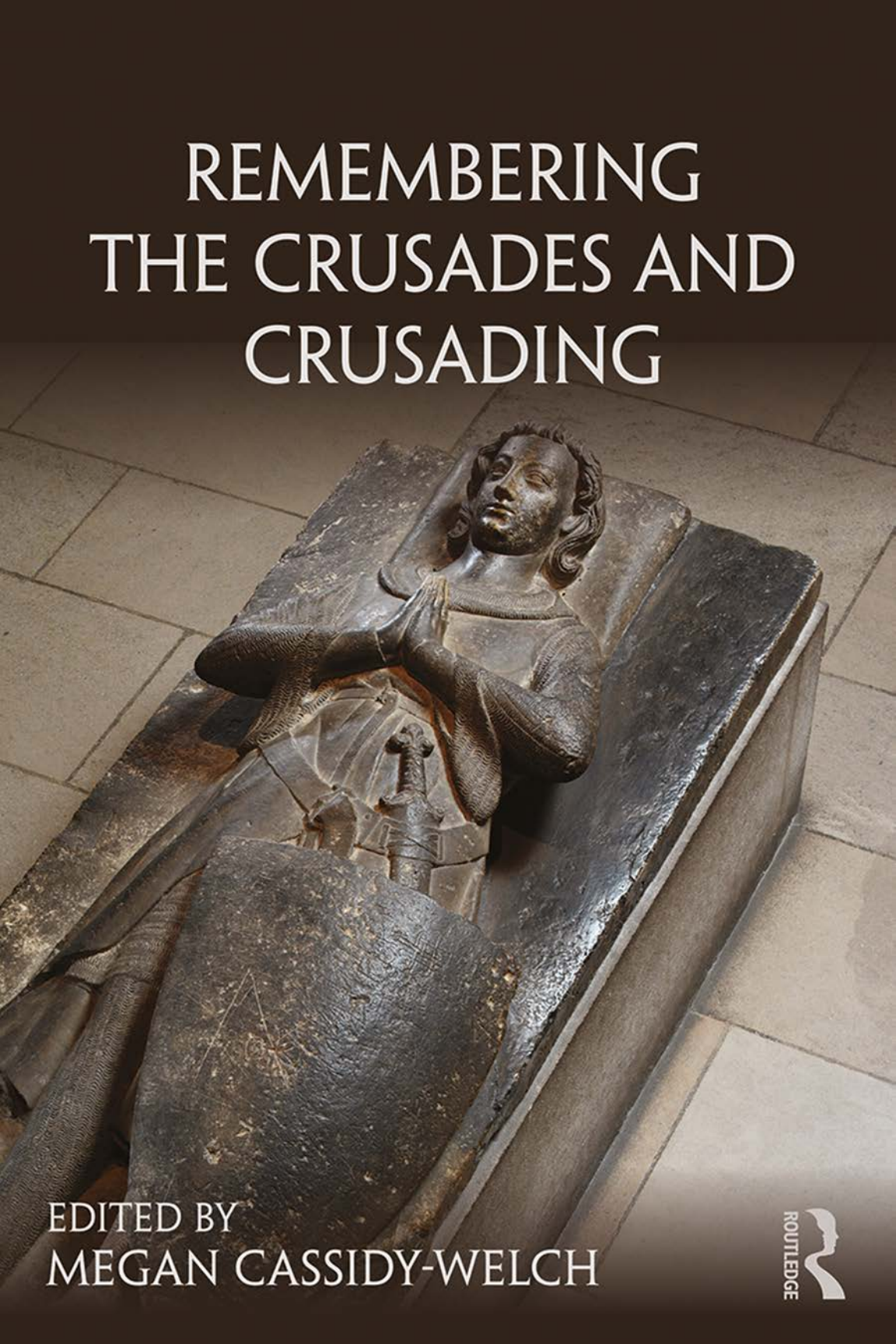
REMEMBERING THE CRUSADES AND CRUSADING



EDITED BY
MEGAN CASSIDY-WELCH

ROUTLEDGE

REMEMBERING THE CRUSADES AND CRUSADING

Remembering the Crusades and Crusading examines the diverse contexts in which crusading was memorialized and commemorated in the medieval world and beyond. The collection not only shows how the Crusades were commemorated in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but also considers the longer-term remembrance of the Crusades into the modern era.

This collection is divided into four parts, the first of which is an introduction. Part II deals with the textual, material and visual sources used to remember. Each contributor introduces a particular body of source material and presents case studies using those sources in their own research. Part III contains four chapters examining specific communities active in commemorating the Crusades, including religious communities, family groups and royal courts. Finally, Part IV examines the cultural memory of crusading in the Byzantine, Iberian and Baltic regions beyond the early years, as well as the trajectory of crusading memory in the Muslim Middle East.

This book draws together and extends the current debates in the history of the Crusades and the history of memory and in so doing offers a fresh synthesis of material in both fields. It will be essential reading for students of the Crusades and memory.

Megan Cassidy-Welch is an Associate Professor of medieval history at Monash University. She is author of *Monastic Spaces and their Meanings* (2001) and *Imprisonment in the Medieval Religious Imagination* (2011).

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ABBREVIATIONS

Grayzel, Vol. 1	*The Church and the Jews in the Thirteenth Century: A Study of their Relations during the Years 1198–1254 (1314), based on the Papal Letters and the Conciliar Decrees of the Period, Vol. 1: 1198–1254*, ed. S. Grayzel (New York, 1966).
Simonsohn	*The Apostolic See and the Jews: Documents, Vol. 1: 492–1404*, ed. S. Simonsohn (Toronto, 1988).

PART I

Introduction

1

REMEMBERING IN THE TIME OF THE CRUSADES

Concepts and practices

Megan Cassidy-Welch

The image on the cover of this book shows a thirteenth-century tomb effigy of a crusader, Jean d'Alluye, who died in 1248. Jean d'Alluye was buried at La Clarté-Dieu near Tours in north-western France, the abbey he had founded before setting off on his crusade to the Holy Land. His limestone effigy shows him in a pose that emphasizes both his piety (his hands are crossed in prayer) and his martial identity (he wears his knightly armour). Now in the Cloisters collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the effigy has been recently restored in public view by museum conservators. As the recumbent knight is painstakingly cleaned of centuries of accumulated grime, Jean d'Alluye's commemorated form is made visible to the crowds of visitors to the museum, who gather to watch the work in progress. One conservator wrote in the museum's blog that the relationship between conservator and object is intimate and the task of conservation is usually conducted away from the public gaze. Indeed, '[t]he sight of a work in the process of being conserved might also come as a shock to passersby; seeing a work of art in its "stripped" state – where all fills and old restorations have been removed – is like seeing a celebrity un-Photoshopped or without makeup'.[1] There is a certain tenderness discernible in the relationship between modern conservator and medieval knight, as the restorative labour of conservation gently reanimates the memory of this long-dead French crusader.

The modern conservator at work reminds us that acts of remembering are always dynamic and relational. They involve processes of communication, reception and assimilation all of which are shaped by the relationships we forge with each other and with the past. This was also true of the medieval period, where memory was cognitive and epistemological, as well as socially constituted and performative.[2] Remembering contained and conveyed meaning according to the mode of communication, audience and perceived function but it was always inherently dialogic. Medieval people distinguished between the art of 'memory', which was the internal

organization, collation and retrieval of information, and 'remembrance', which was the outward communication of the past through text, word, image and ritual. But the Latin words for these different dimensions of remembering could be the same. *Memoria*, the memory, in Latin was a located concept, a place in the body (or soul, in the Augustinian tradition) or it could intimate, as Patrick Geary has identified, the 'objects and actions by which memory could be preserved'.[3] Jean d'Alluye's tomb was one of many funeral *memoriae*, for instance. As a material object it was intended to bring to mind the dead crusader himself and create a lasting remembrance of him. But it was also intended to stimulate the individual viewer to remember God, a profound and self-conscious remembering that brought together subjective and social practices of *memoria*.[4]

The crusading culture of which Jean d'Alluye was a part was intensely memorial. Crusaders understood that they were spiritual pilgrims engaged in a holy war the collective nature of which alluded to Christ's sacramental instruction 'do this in memory of me'. Their participation in the collective endeavour of crusading located them in the corporate body of Christian community and it brought them deeply personal spiritual rewards, the remission of sins being the most significant.[5] Yet as historians have begun to show, crusading was a memorial culture in a range of social ways, too. Crusaders were keen to memorialize their own experiences and those of their crusading ancestors. Through the collection and circulation of objects such as relics, through participation in liturgy, through the production of texts such as letters, chronicles and family histories, through the commission and patronage of monastic houses, churches and chapels, the actions of crusaders and the act of crusading saturated the landscape of the past with *memoriae*. Different communities created their own forms and modes of remembering the crusading past; monastic houses, royal courts, and kinship and religious groups communicated and commemorated the Crusades uniquely and specifically.

In recent years, our understanding of how crusading was remembered and commemorated in the Middle Ages has deepened considerably. This has been a result of more general trends in the scholarship of the Crusades, which has increasingly moved to analyse crusading as part of the cultural landscape of the medieval world and as a series of religious movements that were experienced in different ways by different participants. As cultural history suggests new approaches to the history of the Crusades, so the conceptual frameworks of crusading have attracted renewed attention: from motivations for crusading first intensively analysed by Jonathan Riley-Smith and Marcus Bull, to the experience of crusading for groups other than soldier knights, including women, families, Jews, the Muslims of the Levant, Byzantines and others.[6] A move towards reading crusading as experience has also necessitated new questions about the communication of that experience. Close attention is now being paid to the early narratives of the Crusades; new work has recently been produced on the Crusades and visual culture; the shared experience of liturgical commemoration is now receiving more study.[7] These scholarly directions all address, to different extents, the question of how crusading was remembered.

Academic interest in Crusades and memory has advanced particularly since 2012, when two important books provided both the first collection of essays devoted to the theme of remembering the Crusades and the first full-length monograph about the Crusades and family memory. The essay collection (edited by Nicholas Paul and Suzanne Yeager) suggested that 'the crusades became a central element in discourses of identity for individuals, institutions and communities' during the Middle Ages, and that memory itself, as a key medium for identity formation, was integral to this historical process. Specifically, how the Crusades 'were recalled or commemorated have been shown to include a sense of religious identity . . . what it meant to be Christian, Jewish or Muslim, or in more local contexts, what it meant to be English, a French king, a member of a Jewish community in a Rhineland town, or a nobleman aspiring to chivalry'.[8] As a category of analysis, 'identity' has been extensively critiqued and qualified by scholars of the humanities and social sciences who wish to resist the collapse into one umbrella term all ideas of selfhood, self-understanding, sameness and solidarity across time.[9] But the integration of self, belonging and affinity was strong in medieval thought and medieval identity can be understood as a broad category encompassing a variety of meanings. In terms of remembering, the general category of 'identity', as Paul and Yeager show, hints at the interiority of medieval memory-making just as much as it implies collective belonging. This is particularly apparent in the context of crusading, where the individual crusading vow required someone both to look inward and to affirm their status outwardly as a participant in collection action.

Nicholas Paul's monograph *To Follow in their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* brought to light the place of dynastic and ancestral memory in the promotion and commemoration of crusading during the twelfth and early–mid thirteenth centuries.[10] Paul's book focussed on the noble family and his analysis of family histories, objects of memory and the place of women as custodians of remembrance was the first to show how ancestral identities were built through memories of crusading. Remembrance was a careful process in the creation of medieval family memory; it brought individual achievement, religious practice, the written word and material culture together for the particular purpose of crafting familial status and meaning. Aristocratic lineages relied heavily on crusading as a mark of past and future prestige. Paul's work delineated very clearly the contemporary advantages of remembering the Crusades for these families.[11]

Since the publication of Paul's monograph, a number of other scholars have explored the connections between Crusades and memory. For instance, a recent issue of the *Journal of Medieval History* brought together a range of studies on diverse aspects such as liturgy, romance, place and memory, relics as memorial objects.[12] Increasingly, the materiality of remembrance has attracted attention, especially in relation to the Fourth Crusade: work by David Perry, Anne E. Lester and Thomas Madden, for example, has brought to light the significance of objects, especially relics, in the transmission of memory of that crusade.[13] Other studies have highlighted the particular roles played by religious communities in constructing and fostering memories of crusaders and crusading. One example is the work of Jochen Schenk,

whose study of Templar families exposed the lineages of affiliation and commemoration built and maintained by the military orders and their supporters.[14] The participatory demands of remembering have been studied by M. Cecilia Gaposchkin and Amnon Linder in liturgical contexts, which were shared by communities often far removed from direct experience of crusading.[15] Such work has increasingly emphasised the lived practices of remembering for medieval people. Not only was remembrance dynamic and purposeful, but it was collective and engaging for family groups, religious communities, parishioners and others.

If we understand remembrance to be 'a set of cultural forms that bring into collective consciousness things that have occurred in the past' then we need to understand both what those 'cultural forms' might be, and the means by which they bring past events and experiences to light.[16] In doing this, the conceptual frameworks of communicative and cultural memory are especially helpful. Communicative memory, a term first coined by Jan and Aleida Assmann, refers to the manifestations of remembrance that are created and circulated within a few generations or within living memory of an event.[17] Moreover, communicative memory is shared within social groups as part of collective interaction and acculturation; it necessarily fades within a century as the group dissipates and eventually ceases to exist. The personal, conversational and unstructured nature of communicative memory draws attention to its deeply interactive nature, too. As communicative memory fades, so cultural memory takes over. This may be a less fluid sort of remembering, perhaps more formally delineated, more overtly politicized or narrative, and including such elements as tradition. Cultural memory may exist alongside communicative memory but its life is longer. This is the memory of nations and dynasties, religion and ritual, archives and museums. It is not memory as a subjective practice, but remembrance as a social, political and organizational force.[18]

The communicative and cultural practices of remembering are the focus of this collection, which aims to build on and extend the recent scholarship outlined above. The book concentrates mostly on the 'heyday' of crusading – the twelfth and thirteenth centuries – but also considers the longer-term remembrance of the Crusades beyond the thirteenth century and into the modern era. It is divided into three parts, the first and longest of which deals primarily with the sources for crusade remembrance. Contributors have been asked to provide an overview of a particular body of primary source material and to provide a case study from their own research to show those sources 'in action'. The aim of this part is to illuminate the specific modes through which remembering was articulated, transmitted and integrated into medieval cultures. The diversity of these modes of communication is highlighted here. In the first chapter of Part II Jessalynn Bird looks at preaching, reading biblical exegesis and sermons as exercises in memory, showing how crusade preachers used such concepts as spiritual and legal memory to commemorate past Crusades and to stimulate interest in the conduct of new ones. Cecilia Gaposchkin examines the commemorative practices of liturgy after the First Crusade, specifically the so-called 'Jerusalem Feast', performed each 15 July in remembrance of the Christian capture of the holy city in 1099. Elizabeth Lapina writes about the visual

culture of crusade memory with a case study of the depiction of the miraculous intervention of saints in battle. As historians have increasingly shown, material culture was a meaningful and effective conduit of remembrance during the crusading period. Anne Lester's chapter considers spatial and temporal change as embodied in and through the things crusaders carried with them on what were often long and arduous journeys. Sacred objects were particularly important for crusaders, and the relics and other memorabilia they collected communicated and commemorated their own experiences. Darius von Güttner-Sporzyński explores the vast and complex genre of historical writing, with a careful exposition of the links between memory and fiction in representations of crusading in western and eastern Europe. Written texts are also the subject of Lee Manion's chapter on romance, which illustrates the genre's varied approach to memory as a way of constructing past achievements, imagining reform, and promoting contemporary crusading action. As Manion argues, vernacular literature was an influential means of transmitting particular and powerful group memories.

The third part of the collection looks closely at four specific communities of memory. Monastic communities were perhaps the most active communities of crusade remembrance throughout the Middle Ages, as religious men and women saw themselves as professional guardians and interpreters of the Christian past. In her chapter on monastic memory, Katherine Allen Smith shows how Christian conceptions of sacred time informed monastic memories of crusading, while the actions of crusaders themselves were evaluated in terms of a Christian moral economy based on the Gospels. The case study of one early crusader, knight-turned-hermit Adjutor of Tiron (d. 1131) is presented to show how the memory of one pious crusader was retold throughout the twelfth century in order to address contemporary needs. James Naus and Vincent Ryan explore how remembering was constructed and shared among royal courts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Using the particular case study of Richard I of England, the 'Lionheart', Naus and Ryan consider how royal identities were fashioned through affiliation with crusading, even as the success of the Crusades waned across time. Nicholas Paul and Jochen Schenk write about family and ancestral memory, with particular reference to noble families. The final chapter in Part III is by Rebecca Rist, who revisits the Hebrew chronicles of the First Crusade to analyse how medieval Jewish writers understood the papacy during the time of the Crusades, especially the issue of papal protection of Jewish communities. Rist reveals how the limits of papal protection of Jews were represented in the Jewish historical narratives of this time in both empathetic and critical terms.

The purpose of the first and second parts of the collection is to focus on how remembering Crusades and crusading was communicated and by whom. The attention in these parts paid to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries allows the authors to sketch a detailed and evolving landscape of memory-making during the evolution and transformation of the Crusades to the Holy Land and beyond. Part IV of the book is intended to be more reflective, bringing the regional and cultural memories of crusading beyond those early years. Jonathan Harris' chapter shows how

memories of the Crusades endured in the Byzantine Empire well after the fall of Acre in 1291. While the capture of Jerusalem in 1099 and efforts to hold it were sometimes alluded to, the episode that was embedded most deeply in the collective Byzantine consciousness was the diversion of the Fourth and the subsequent sack of Constantinople in 1204. These were very bitter memories and the wound was exacerbated by the schism between the Latin and Greek Churches. As the empire declined, however, and western help seemed to be the only hope of stopping the advance of the Ottoman Turks, some among the Byzantine ruling elites revised their memories, presenting the western occupation of Constantinople in a more positive light. The Iberian peninsula was also the scene of crusading activity from the twelfth century. In Ana Rodríguez's chapter, we see how the long memory of the conflation of 'reconquest' and 'crusade' was formed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, while the ongoing military conflicts during that time increasingly drew on crusading discourse to justify and commemorate them. Alex Mallett considers the difficult trajectory of crusading memory in the Muslim Middle East. As is well known, the Crusades left a significant mark on Muslim consciousness, both in the areas directly affected and in the wider Islamic world. Mallett's chapter examines how memory of the Crusades has changed across time in response to the Muslim world's contemporaneous relations with the west. As crusading activity took place in theatres of war often far removed from the Holy Land, so the regional memories of crusading were diverse. Carsten Selch Jensen looks at the long history of crusade memory in the Baltic, where national narratives (Estonian, Finnish and Latvian) have used the experience of the Crusades to generate particular political and cultural identities. Most strikingly, the former USSR (in its westernmost satellite states) also drew heavily on the crusader past to assert a common identity.

It is the overall aim of this collection to draw attention to the diverse ways in which Crusades and crusading were remembered in the Middle Ages and beyond. Understanding the precise ways in which memory was communicated, whether visual, textual, ritual or material, adds significantly to our knowledge of how pre-modern remembering was practised and understood to create wider cultural and social meaning. At the same time, attention to the communities which acted as keepers of memory tells us much about the transmission and shifts of memory across the decades after the First Crusade. That the Crusades continued to possess discursive and commemorative value into the modern era invites us to reflect on how cultural memory is formed and why. The organization of this collection around these three areas – sources for remembering, communities of memory and cultural memory – illuminates the immediate and long-term processes of remembering.

Thus, the conservator at work in the Metropolitan Museum of Art is the most recent participant in a historical story about remembering that began long before the death of the crusader knight Jean d'Alluye. We know that Jean d'Alluye himself had taken up the cross in 1241, that he travelled to Damascus, returned home in 1244 and died in about 1248. He was not part of Louis IX's famous crusade that ended with a massacre at Mansourah in 1248 and the capture of the king.[19] But d'Alluye was remembered in effigy as a pious participant in holy war – biblically

and canonically justified by generations of crusade preachers – and as a pilgrim from this life to the next, according to Christian eschatology. The sword he wears by his side was probably purchased in Syria, but it is of Chinese origin, d'Alluye's own souvenir of a military adventure and a reminder of the great cultural and spatial distances he had travelled.[20] The religious community of the abbey of La Clarté-Dieu remembered d'Alluye with prayers and words as part of what was supposed to be an eternal liturgical cycle of commemoration and celebration. But fortune was not in the abbey's favour by the nineteenth century, and it was partially demolished; d'Alluye's effigy suffered the ignominious fate of being used, face-down, to bridge a nearby stream until it was rescued and transported to Paris for sale. When George Grey Barnard sought to bring to America 'those wonderful works of the Middle Ages' in the early twentieth century, d'Alluye's effigy was one of many items he purchased (from a Parisian dealer in 1910) to join other medieval objects in the Cloisters. It has remained in New York ever since, now part of the cultural memory of the city just as much as a reminder of the faraway Crusades that shaped d'Alluye's own life and death all those centuries ago.

Notes

1 www.metmuseum.org/visit/visit-the-cloisters/in-season/2014/jean-dalluye (accessed 9 April 2015).
2 See for instance, Francis Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966); Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, second edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Lucie Doležalova, ed., *The Making of Memory in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2009); Elma Brenner, Meredith Cohen and Mary Franklin-Brown, eds, *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval Culture* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).
3 Patrick Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 18.
4 See also Michael Lauwers, *La Mémoire des ancêtres, le souci des morts. Morts, rites et société au Moyen Age. Diocèse de Liège, XIe–XIIIe siècles* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1997).
5 Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'Crusading as an Act of Love', *History* 65 (1980), 177–92.
6 Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c. 970–1130* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993). For the variety of experiences of women in the crusading movement, see, *inter alia*, Susan Edgington and Sarah Lambert, eds, *Gendering the Crusades* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003); Anne E. Lester, 'A Shared Imitation: Cistercian Convents and Crusader Families in Thirteenth-Century Champagne', *Journal of Medieval History* 35 (2009), 353–70; for the experiences of eastern Christians, see Christopher MacEvitt, *Crusades and the Christian World of the East: Rough Tolerance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); for Byzantium see Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh, eds, *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2001); for a recent study of the experiences of Muslims in the Holy Land, see Alex Mallett, *Popular Muslim Reactions to the Franks in the Levant, 1097–1291* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014); for a study of the experience of French Jews during the First Crusade, see Susan L. Einbinder, *Beautiful Death: Jewish Poetry and Martyrdom in Medieval France* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).
7 For instance, Marcus Bull and Damien Kempf, eds, *Writing the Early Crusades: Text, Transmission and Memory* (Rochester, NY and Suffolk, UK: Boydell and Brewer, 2015);

Elizabeth Lapina, April Jehan Morris, Susanna A. Throop and Laura J. Whatley, eds, *The Crusades and Visual Culture* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015); M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, 'From Pilgrimage to Crusade: The Liturgy of Departure, 1095–1300', *Speculum* 88 (2013), 44–91.

8 Nicholas Paul and Suzanne Yeager, eds, *Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image, Identity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012).

9 See for instance, Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, 'Beyond Identity', *Theory and Society* 29 (2000), 1–47.

10 Nicholas Paul, *To Follow in their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012).

11 See also Nicholas Paul, 'Crusade, Memory and Regional Politics in Twelfth-Century Amboise', *Journal of Medieval History* (2005), 127–41.

12 Megan Cassidy-Welch and Anne E. Lester, eds, 'Crusades and Memory', special issue of the *Journal of Medieval History* 40:3 (2014), republished in book form as *Crusades and Memory: Rethinking Past and Present* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2015).

13 David Perry, *Sacred Plunder: Venice and the Aftermath of the Fourth Crusade* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2015); Anne E. Lester, 'What Remains: Women, Relics and Remembrance in the Aftermath of the Fourth Crusade', *Journal of Medieval History* 40:3 (2014), 311–28; Thomas Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: Event, Aftermath and Perceptions* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); Thomas Madden, 'The Venetian Version of the Fourth Crusade: Memory and the Conquest of Constantinople in Medieval Venice', *Speculum* 87 (2012), 311–44.

14 Jochen Schenk, *Templar Families: Landowning Families and the Order of the Temple in France, ca. 1120–1307* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

15 Amnon Linder, *Raising Arms: Liturgy in the Struggle to Liberate Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003); M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, 'The Echoes of Victory: Liturgical and Para-Liturgical Commemorations of the Capture of Jerusalem in the West', *Journal of Medieval History* 40:3 (2014), 237–59.

16 Megan Cassidy-Welch and Anne E. Lester, 'Memory and Interpretation: New Approaches to the Study of the Crusades', *Journal of Medieval History* 40:3 (2014), 225–36 at 230.

17 Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich: Beck, 1992); Jan Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory: Ten Studies*, trans. Rodney Livingstone (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 1–30; Aleida Assmann, *Der lange Schatten der Vergangenheit – Erinnerungskultur und Geschichtspolitik* (Munich: Beck, 2006).

18 Gerard Oexle, *Memoria als Kultur* (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995). For a famous critique of history's propensity to obliterate 'spontaneous' memory, see Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989), 7–25.

19 J.L. Schrader, 'George Grey Barnard: The Cloisters and The Abbaye', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 37:1 (1979), 3–52.

20 Helmut Nickel, 'A Crusader's Sword: Concerning the Effigy of Jean d'Alluye', *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 26 (1991), 123–8.

PART II

Sources of memory

2

PREACHING AND CRUSADING MEMORY

Jessalynn Bird

History as memory has become an important recent trend in medieval studies, but, apart from the study of commemorative preaching on the dead, has yet to significantly impact the study of preaching and in particular crusade sermons.[1] For example, in the recent *The Making of Memory in the Middle Ages*, the essays devoted to preaching and pastoral literature focus on mnemonic devices and techniques rather than the uses and abuses of the past, with the refreshing exception of the essay by William J. Purkis, matched by his two new articles on the memory of the crusade in the *exempla* of Caesarius of Heisterbach.[2] However, all biblical exegesis and sermons were an exercise in memory, not only in their organization (for example, in the use of distinctions and divisions as an aide-mémoire for both preacher and audience), but in events enshrined in the Old and New Testaments which were glossed, explicated, and made relevant to contemporary social and spiritual life.[3] Sermons intersected with most of the other frameworks for the transmission and cultivation of memory surveyed in these volumes, including liturgy, relics, ritual, artwork and the heritages created and manipulated by royal and noble families, monastic and ecclesiastical institutions.

The word "memory" can connote many things: a recollection, the process of recollection, reminding someone to accomplish something one has pledged or should do. Then there are acts of remembrance, the active processes of remembering and commemoration. Many of these forms of memory interact with each other. Objects or rituals can cultivate remembrance (for example, the adoption of the crusader's cross with its attendant liturgy reminded crusaders to fulfill their vow and the visual marker of the cross linked his or her endeavor to everything that cross stood for). Memory can be ritually enacted in the liturgy, the recitation or reading of history, the veneration of a relic. The selective nature of individual memory is further complicated once memory defines an individual's or culture's identity. Memory then becomes the locus for continual negotiation in order to reform or

reinforce individual, familial, religious, social and political identity. Just as for the individual, chosen events can assume symbolic significance as rites of passage, as loci for joy or trauma, so too certain occurrences became symbolic for families and larger communities: the death of a noted crusader, the success or failure of a particular campaign (the fall of Damietta, the Christian recovery or loss of Jerusalem and the relic of the True Cross).

Preachers were familiar, too, with the technical structures which shaped recollection and knew that sermons were key tools for the formation of memory. Sermonists drew on biblical exegesis and the liturgical year to impart religious instruction on doctrine, current events and the salvation story; they encouraged their audiences to utilize rhyming verses, simple prayers, illustrative stories (*exempla*) and lists of vices and virtues and the creed to retain, internalize and share key beliefs. Sermons also urged audiences to scrutinize their consciences and define and remember past sins through confession. Preachers in turn relied on pastoral materials (*pastoralia*) for confession and preaching, including bibles and biblical commentaries, confessor's manuals, collections of fables and *exempla*, bestiaries, histories and encyclopedias such as Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum maius*, which was divided into sections on history, the natural world and doctrine. Of these, the section on history was the most popular, as was the section of James of Vitry's *Historia Iherosolimitana* which dealt with the history of the East and fused many of these genres. For medieval writers, history was not dead, nor were the Bible and the saints. Rather, they remained in dialogue with the present and the anticipated future; the linear progression of Christian history from creation to the end times (characterized by the recovery of Jerusalem and the conversion of all peoples) interacted with the interpretation of the living world as the manifestation of the divine plan. The boundary lines between hagiography, history and biblical exegesis were porous, and memory of specific individuals and their commemoration was tied to the conscious cultivation of religious memory, eschatology, history and crusade propaganda.

Historians have investigated some aspects of memory and crusade preaching, but not in a systematic fashion, partly because the sources (crusade sermons, treatises and other forms of propaganda) are complicated. Although rich in biblical and historical allusions, surviving model crusade sermons were often stripped of their contemporary contexts in order to make them universal or adapt them to preaching for other occasions (unlike crusade bulls, which referred to specific circumstances which instigated the planning of a crusade and were often meant to be read in conjunction with or in lieu of a crusade sermon). Some surviving crusade appeals and treatises retain contemporary allusions, and are the more valuable for this. Penny J. Cole and David d'Avray have done pioneering work on investigating sermons on the dead, including deceased crusaders, while Christoph Maier, Jean Flori and Penny Cole have dealt with specific aspects of memory in their surveys of crusade preaching and investigations of the impact of prophecy and its role on crusade preaching and images of Islam. In studies of individual Crusades or surveys of crusade preaching other scholars have noted the influence of crusading traditions and prior campaigns on the promotion of a particular campaign, but there remain few

in-depth treatments of the issue of memory and crusade preaching and almost no sustained investigation of the issue of memory, crusade preaching and sermons for the liturgical year and saints' feast days.[4]

Recent monographs by Marcus Bull, Jonathan Riley-Smith, Caroline Smith and Nicholas Paul have investigated the relationship between the appeals of crusade preachers, poets and popes and the ways in which family memory, identity and networks, pilgrimage and support for local religious communities influenced many individuals' support for various crusading expeditions. Nicholas Paul in particular has stressed that maintaining the memory of the deceased was tied not only to history and theological perceptions of the world, but "liturgical and commemorative practices that kept alive the memory of the dead."[5] For preachers this meant drawing on the cycle of sermons preached during the liturgical year (commemorating the events of Christ's life and its implications for humankind, these cycles were informed also by scriptural readings and liturgical traditions), but also funeral and anniversary sermons (which outlined the duties of the living toward the dead and commemorated the qualities of the recently deceased), sermons on the most holy dead (the saints who continued to intervene in human affairs), and sermons for All Saints day, which outlined the relationship of the church militant on earth to the church triumphant in heaven, the concept of purgatory, and the associated means for aiding the deceased through almsgiving, anniversary masses and prayers, all of which were linked to the crusade effort. These concepts in turn became allied to the idea of a hereditary obligation to participate in the crusade after the model of one's illustrious ancestors (real or appropriated) and the assumption that heirs, as potential participants in the religious benefits of the crusade vow taken by the deceased, should fulfill or redeem their deceased relations' crusade vows (or support living crusaders through financial sacrifice and participation in the liturgy, almsgiving and prayers of the crusading home front).

During the entire history of the Crusades, preachers were confronted with the need to situate individual crusaders and crusading practices within sacred and profane conceptions of time. In order to explain how the Crusades originated and what they achieved, preachers turned to biblical exegesis, classical historical models, and prose and verse treatments of more recent history or deeds (*gesta*), which partook of and often blended the cyclical and linear historical models of transmission of empire, sin and redemption while looking forward to the eschatological, apocalyptic or prophetic future and the consummation of time at the Last Judgment.[6] From the promotion of what became known as the First Crusade by Peter the Hermit and Urban II onwards, crusading appeals alluded to various elaborately constructed cultural and religious memories. The economy of salvation and the succession of empires were used to present the Holy Land as Christ's patrimony which must be re-won from Muslim powers, to delineate the Crusades as a just war, a defensive response to provocation. The concept appealed to audiences familiar with the drive to protect and hand down earthly patrimonies: land was tied to family memory and identity and many patronyms were derived from place-names or lordships. Such manufactured memory could be extended to other crusading fronts: the former

Byzantine empire, the Baltic (presented as the dower lands of the Virgin Mary) and Iberia.[7]

Those involved in preaching the Crusades were often also involved in the production of historical, exegetical and devotional works which promoted the Holy Land not simply as a repository of the sacred past but as the living embodiment of God's redemptive plan worked out both in prior and current events and an apocalyptic or prophetic future. A great outpouring of historiography commemorated and explicated the capture of Jerusalem by the First Crusaders and was so successful that the example of the First Crusaders would be continually cited in histories and sermons as one which all future crusaders must follow. These accounts of the First Crusade were accompanied by the composition of the *Song of Roland* and the Latin prose account of Charlemagne's exploits known as the Pseudo-Turpin legend, which begin to circulate around time of First Crusade and was invoked habitually by crusade recruiters.[8]

Crusading and pilgrimage depended also on constant allusion to the living memory of biblical and post-biblical events enshrined in the many sacred places of the Holy Land and Egypt, particularly, but certainly not limited to, the sites of Christ's incarnation and passion in and around Jerusalem, including the Holy Sepulcher. Biblical and ancient history were invoked to explain why the Holy Land was so worthy of devotion and military defense by preachers and propagandists in all eras. James of Vitry and Oliver of Paderborn drew on histories of previous Crusades and biblical exegesis (Fulcher of Chartres, William of Tyre, Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*) to draft their own histories of biblical events, itineraries of sacred locales and histories of the transmission of empires and previous and the current crusade written while ministering to their recruits through preaching during the campaign of the Fifth Crusade (1216–1221). These histories and contemporary prophecies informed the way in which James and Oliver presented, explained, directed and interpreted the events of the Fifth Crusade, which they in turn commemorated in sermons, letters and histories, which reached wide audiences in Latin Christendom. They used similar techniques to portray Egypt as a fit arena for crusading by alluding to earlier expeditions by Amalric, Latin king of Jerusalem, and Manuel Comnenus, and by portraying its wastelands as the home of the desert fathers, Alexandria as the site of Jeremiah's martyrdom and burial. The holy family's flight into Egypt further sacralized and transformed the region (particularly Cairo) into a fit goal for conquest in and of itself (not merely as a pawn to be traded for Jerusalem). James of Vitry's history of the Holy Land, Islam and the Crusades (the *Historia Orientalis*) and Oliver of Paderborn's account of the Fifth Crusade's campaign (the *Historia Damiatina*) would quickly be used to drum up armies for the delayed fulfillment of Frederick II's vow on an imperial crusade. The *Historia Orientalis* (and the "Third book" on the Egyptian campaign cobbled together by anonymous authors from sources including the *Historia Damiatina*) survive in over a hundred manuscripts and were translated into vernacular languages including Spanish and French. They remained sources for crusade preachers (including Humbert of Romans) and promoters of the crusade throughout the Renaissance period and beyond.[9]

Beginning with the Israelites' wresting the Holy Land from pagan tribes and the prophecies of Daniel on the succession of empires, writers and orators typically progressed to the advent of Babylon, Rome and Byzantium (including Titus' and Vespasian's sack of Jerusalem, Constantine's and Helen's finding of the True Cross and Heraclius' rescue of it from the Persian Cosdroes), to the rise of Islam due to the sins of the inhabitants of eastern and western Christendom, to the combatting of Islam by Charlemagne and those who claimed to be his heirs (the First Crusaders, and the kings of France, Germany and England), and *peccatis exigentibus*, the recent triumphs of Saladin and other Muslim rulers in the East.[10] Propagandists from France, Germany, England and other regions exploited Old Testament imagery and prophecies of all stripes to validate rulers' and *milites*' exercise of power as protectors of the church against pagans, heretics, schismatics and Muslims, casting them as new Joshuas, Davids or Maccabees or alternatively as successors to Charlemagne or prophetic last emperors.[11]

As had James of Vitry and Oliver of Paderborn, Humbert of Romans also engaged in the construction of communal identity, analysis of the present, and legitimization of crusading through the invocation of an imagined or re-imagined historical past.[12] Humbert's crusade preaching treatise was written shortly after the capture of Saphet (1266) for the instruction of his order's members (the Dominicans), who with the Franciscans, had become increasingly responsible for crusade preaching and finance.[13] In what could be termed a *summa* of crusade propaganda, Humbert advised potential preachers to educate themselves by learning what the Bible and various historical works taught concerning the Holy Land and crusading and by studying the life and teachings of Mohammed and the spread of Islam. He himself utilized the Pseudo-Turpin on Charlemagne, the histories of Fulcher of Chartres and William of Tyre, the *Historia transmarina* (i.e. the *Historia Orientalis* of James of Vitry), and other chroniclers including Eusebius, Gregory of Tours, and Bede. Humbert situated the Crusades within the historical transmission of empires from the chosen people of Israel through Rome and Byzantium (typified by Helena/Constantine and Heraclius), to Charlemagne, to the first crusaders and more recent campaigns. He also used Old Testament heroes (including Abraham, Elijah, Matthias, the Maccabees, Moses and Joshua), saints and martyrs (Peter, Paul, Andrew), previous holy wars and more recent Crusades to situate the significance of the Holy Land and crusading within the historical frame of the redemption story, to demonstrate the best way to earn divine favor, to reassure potential participants in the crusade that their cause was a just defensive war and to counter potential protestations that divine favor was lacking, the Crusades were unjust or fruitless or the indulgences offered inefficacious. The image of the First Crusade was persistent and inspiring: Humbert insisted on the utility of previous crusaders and campaigns as didactic examples for contemporary participants to emulate or eschew.

Humbert notes that among the many things which typically motivate men to fight are "the examples of those who have gone before." Just as in the houses of noble men the "mighty deeds of warriors of old" are depicted in artwork and in songs to animate those gathered there to similar accomplishments, so too the deeds

of the *militia Christi*, the sufferings of Christ and of the martyrs are painted, preserved in writing and recited by preachers to spur the faithful to virtuous mimicry. For this very purpose he has included the exploits of many illustrious persons, including Charlemagne in Spain, Peter the Hermit, Urban II, Godfrey of Bouillon, the anonymous noblemen, ecclesiastics and common people who recovered the Holy Land on the First Crusade, and, more recently, Bernard of Clairvaux, Louis IX's acquisition of the passion relics, and Frederick Barbarossa, Philip Augustus and Richard I.

Humbert was following a venerable tradition of the commemoration of prior campaigns in papal letters issued as formal calls to crusade. These were often sent to multiple addressees (prelates, rulers, towns) and read out in lieu of sermons or as a supplement to a preacher's own customized harangues. This practice partly explains the lack of precise reference, in existing reworked model sermons for the crusade, to the logistics and precise spiritual and legal rewards of the crusade as well as the contemporary circumstances which prompted a campaign's initiation; these topices were typically covered in crusade bulls.[14] One of the most famous and influential was that of Eugenius III invoking the Second Crusade (*Quantum praedecessores*). Eugenius' appeal to the core themes of Urban II and histories of the First Crusade (the forgiveness of sins, assistance for eastern Christians, the concept of a holy war waged with divine approval, the values of contemporary warriors embodied by their ancestors who had participated in the First Crusade), set the mold for crusade bulls until Gregory VIII and Innocent III extended the call to crusade participation to the populace at large, stressing the crusade as an opportunity for penance on both the domestic and military fronts. However, this evolution of the crusade did not remove the perennial need for the nobility and kings (and later the urban and rural populace) of Latin Christendom to remember and emulate the mighty deeds and material and penitential sacrifices of their ancestors on the First Crusade. This motif was joined, in Eugenius' bull and many other papal letters and sermons, to similar appeals for the penitential imitation of Christ and the saints and the need to regain or protect the sacred regions in which Christ had become incarnate, performed his ministry and died in order to redeem the human race, particularly the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, which was viewed as the memorial of Christ's passion.[15]

Crusading histories, treatises, and sermons stressed the need for crusaders (and settlers in the East) to live up to the exploits of their ancestors and protect and maintain their achievements rather than undermining them by dissipate lifestyles and refusal to assist the crusading effort. The call to emulation was counterbalanced typically by laments and exhortations to repentance and specific details of recent military reversals caused by the sins of audiences in the West and the inhabitants of the Latin settlements in the East. Preachers painted the crusade as an opportunity to redeem oneself and leave behind an illustrious worldly and spiritual memory, while conversely threatening those who shunned participation, opposed a campaign or undermined it by their notorious sins with everlasting shame. Crusade appeals typically accompanied reforming criticisms of the sins of rulers, ecclesiastics, and the merchant and knightly classes. Homilies and papal bulls also used recent military

failures to chasten audiences: most notably the disaster at Hattin (1187), but Innocent III also used the capture of Mount Tabor and the defeat of a German crusade to insert mocking comments regarding the military and moral incapacity of various nations into the mouths of imaginary Muslim opponents in a bull invoking what would become the Fourth Crusade.[16]

Memory was also very much an element of what have been termed "popular" Crusades. Peter the Hermit was said to have invoked the memory of the Holy Sepulcher and the sufferings of Holy Land pilgrims to muster followers. Participants in the crusade of the *pueri* (1212) (or at the very least, the clerical and monastic chroniclers who described their activities) criticized elites for recent failures to regain the Holy Land and appropriated biblical memories of the innocence of the *pueri* who greeted Christ in Jerusalem and the Israelites as God's chosen people who crossed the sea dry-shod. Preachers in Paris would in turn invoke the recent example of the *pueri* to shame audiences into participating in the Fifth Crusade. Members of the Crusade of the Shepherds (1250) appear to have been haunted by the memory of Louis IX's captivity and were determined to aid and avenge their king. Preachers also tended to target regions with traditions and memories of crusade participation, creating what Gary Dickson has termed "burned-over districts." Bernard of Clairvaux did this on his preaching tour for the Second Crusade, while Oliver of Paderborn targeted the same regions twice (Frisia, Flanders-Brabant and Germany) for his preaching of the Fifth Crusade and the crusade of Frederick II. Honorius III and Frederick II would support his efforts by praising the Frisians for their doughty participation in the recent campaign of the Fifth Crusade, the better to inspire them for fresh efforts for the imperial crusade in the 1220s.[17]

Preachers actively invoked the prophetic and eschatological future. Crusade sermons borrowed from the adventine tradition in linking the incarnation of Christ and his salvific work in Jerusalem to his second coming in the same locale: the holy places must be regained (and all peoples brought into the Christian fold) not only to ensure access for Christian pilgrims but also as a prerequisite for the coming of the Antichrist and the Last Judgment. James of Vitry, Oliver of Paderborn and the legate Pelagius persistently promoted prophecies during the campaign of the Fifth Crusade which merged elements of the pseudo-Methodius and Sybilline traditions with promises of aid from eastern Christian rulers. Those preaching the anti-Mongol crusade depicted the "Tartars" as agents of the Antichrist, while Odo of Châteauroux highlighted the "threat" of Muslims living in Lucera by situating them within the context of contemporary predictions. In fact, prophecy and eschatology would play a significant role in many other crusade campaigns.[18]

The interplay between historical past, contemporary and future events was enabled by the fact that sermons depended on the multivalent resonance and explication of multiple scriptural authorities. Preachers could expound on the literal, allegorical, moral or anagogical meaning of biblical passages, enabling the paralleling of seemingly disparate topics and time periods. For example, "Jerusalem" could be interpreted as referring to the earthly Jerusalem, the soul, the church militant on earth and church triumphant in heaven. Similarly Old Testament passages on

Abraham's abandonment of his homeland or the Israelites going out of Egypt after the institution of the Passover were interpreted as meaning the soul abandoning vice through penance and/or the embrace and emulation of Christ's suffering through the physical and emotional suffering implied by the crusade (the abandonment of homeland, possessions, family and potential martyrdom), or through the benefits of that passion mediated through the crusade indulgence and the sacraments (particularly the mass and penance). These motifs characterized James of Vitry's sermons to pilgrim-crusaders, which mirror his interpretation of the Fifth Crusade in sermons delivered during the campaign and in letters meant to be utilized by crusade preachers.[19]

For most preachers were responsible for producing sermons for the major feast days of the year and Sundays. Each of these occasions were assigned scriptural readings determined by regional custom and in addition the psalms, antiphons, versicles and processions of the liturgy. Preachers availed themselves of living links to the past (and future) in the form of liturgies constructed for the commemoration of the crusade (particularly post-1187) and in intercession for divine and saintly aid (both for souls of individual crusaders and for the Holy Land). Sermons were almost always delivered within a liturgical backdrop which commemorated and united the church militant on earth with the church triumphant in heaven (including the saints, recently martyred crusaders and Christ). Preaching intersected, too, with artwork and architecture. All churches represented the heavenly Jerusalem, some in addition were modelled on the rounded form of the Holy Sepulcher, or possessed relics originating in the Holy Land (or from the former Byzantine empire) or were founded by orders or individuals associated with the Holy Land (for example, the military orders).[20]

Churches were often the physical frame for the delivery of sermons, chosen deliberately for their resonances and associations. In 1215, crusade recruiting was timed to coincide with the coronation of Frederick II in the imperial seat of Aachen's cathedral and concluded with the elevation of the bones of Frederick's canonized mythological predecessor and proto-crusader Charlemagne. Aachen also laid claim to relics associated with the Holy Land said to have been collected by Charlemagne, as did the abbey church of Saint-Denis outside Paris. Burial-place for the kings of France, host of the sacred Oriflamme carried by French kings (including supposedly Charlemagne) into battle, and possessor of passion relics, and probably a newly consecrated stained glass window cycle celebrating the exploits of Charlemagne, Constantine and the First Crusaders, Saint-Denis formed the backdrop to meetings held in support of the Second Crusade at which Pope Eugenius, abbot Suger and Louis VII were present, as was a fragment of the True Cross sent to Notre-Dame in Paris from the Holy Land in 1120. These associations would be tapped by future crusading Capetians, including Philip Augustus and Louis IX, who deliberately worked visits to Saint-Denis and the adoption of the Oriflamme into the ceremonial of their crusading campaigns. On a smaller scale, the monastery of Heiligenkreuz's connections to local leading families, its inclusion in the tightly organized Cistercian order, and the duke of Austria's gift (in 1188) of a relic of the

True Cross (obtained from King Baldwin IV of Jerusalem) similarly ensured that its members became involved in preaching the crusade.[21]

Crusading remained firmly allied to the cult of relics and shrines associated with them in the Holy Land, the former Byzantine Empire and in Latin Christendom. Crusaders took relics with them and acquired relics to bring back home with them. These were no mere souvenirs but tangible links to the salvific power embodied in holy places and persons. They embodied not only the memory of the spiritual transformation of an individual's pilgrimage or participation in a crusade, but the power of the biblical redemption story impacting present and future life just as the power of saints invested in the remains of their earthly bodies symbolized and demonstrated their present power on earth and intercessory function in heaven. Transferred relics reinforced the memory of the crusade and the Holy Land, stimulated recruiting, and could also be a form of soliciting aid or repaying those involved in the promotion of the crusade. Louis IX acquired passion relics from Baldwin II of Constantinople and dedicated Sainte-Chapelle as an architectural reliquary and royal chapel for them in preparation for his first crusade (a cult which his rival Henry III of England attempted to counter by the acquisition of the Holy Blood). Garnier, bishop of Troyes granted relics from Constantinople to the abbey of Saint-Victor in Paris, perhaps as an acknowledgment of its participation in the promotion of the Fourth Crusade, while Nivelon, bishop of Soissons' gift of relics from the same campaign to Saint Jean-des-Vignes in Soissons ensured its involvement in future Crusades.[22]

Such rich layering of associations was not always possible: many sermons were delivered in out-of-doors venues, leaving preachers to craft their own authority and resonances. Eustace of Flay, a noted reform and crusade preacher active around the time of the Fourth Crusade, brandished a heavenly letter of commission and targeted marketplaces, while the leaders of the Crusades of the *pueri* (1212) and the Pastoreaux (1250) invoked visions of the Virgin Mary, Christ and heavenly letters to grant themselves authority. The *pueri* also participated in para-liturgical processions with crosses and banners reminiscent of those held on Palm Sunday, Pentecost, Rogation-tide and other times of crisis, similar to the processions which Innocent III (and many of his successors) urged all of Christendom to celebrate in aid of the crusade effort.[23] Liturgy and preaching were also naturally tied to the cult and commemoration of relics of Christ's passion and the saints, particularly those associated with the Holy Land or the imitation of Christ's sacrificial work. Many crusading sermons invoked the saints (particularly martyrs, but also confessors and virgins), as emulators of Christ's redemptive sacrifice, as examples for crusaders to follow in recapitulating, repaying or imitating Christ's suffering on the cross. Saint Boniface had been martyred while preaching to the pagans, and Oliver of Paderborn delivered a crusade appeal on the occasion of his feast day in Frisia. Other crusade preachers routinely invoked saints who had died on the cross or through martyrdom in imitation of Christ as examples for their audience to follow by taking the crusader's cross, including Andrew, Peter, Laurence, Vincent, and the proto-martyr Stephen.[24] Preachers not only for the crusade but for other fundraising causes routinely carried relics with them in order to inspire devotion in their audiences and

provide tangible embodiments of the living saint's past deeds and present power to intercede for the devout. The crusade recruiter John of Xanten carried fragments of a miraculous host which testified to the doctrine of transubstantiation so central to crusading liturgy in the early thirteenth century (prayers for the Holy Land were inserted into the mass before the newly consecrated host from roughly 1187 onwards).[25]

Crusading was also tied to spiritual memory. Preachers and propagandists recalled the redemption story and Christ's sacrifice. The need for confession of sins to obtain the various crusading indulgences' full or partial remission of enjoined penance encouraged individuals to weigh past sins and offenses against God which they would have to pay the penalty for in purgatory unless they maintained themselves in an appropriately penitential state while participating in the crusade. Introspection and self-examination became tied to the memory of past deeds in the formation of the spiritual individual. Preachers also turned to sermons for the liturgical year and certain feasts suited by theme for adaptation to crusade appeals, particularly those delivered during Lent and Advent, on Good Friday, Palm Sunday, *Laetare Iherusalem* Sunday, Pentecost, and the feasts of the Invention and Exaltation of the Cross. Preachers and liturgists lifted and adapted material from these to promote the crusade, often presenting participation in the crusade as the commemoration and emulation of Christ's salvific sacrifice on the cross.[26]

Audiences were urged not only to remember, but to participate in and embody these sufferings which had earned them salvation, and to look ahead to the Last Judgment, where their own hardships could be invoked before Christ as Judge as proof of their love of and imitation of the suffering Savior. Crusade preachers drew on the tradition for various feast days, particularly the Purification at the Temple, Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday, or the crucifixion of Good Friday to urge their audiences not only to recall these events, but hold them in their memory, meditate on them and envisage themselves as participants in a living tableau. This held true not only in sermons which recruited for the crusade, but in homilies which urged all elements of society to contribute to the crusade effort through alms, prayers, self-reform and participation in processions. Many Good Friday and crusading sermons, for example, called on audiences to envisage which of the actors in the Passion drama they would become. Manifold forms of emulation (or rejection) of Christ's sacrifice were assigned to various actors in the crucifixion scene. Would listeners imitate Christ's innocent sacrifice on the cross through martyrdom, or that of the good thief through the crusader's cross of penance (and resulting indulgence), or that of the bad thief or Simon Cyrene through hypocrisy and abandonment of the crusade enterprise? Or would they follow Pilate, Judas, Caiphas or the Roman soldiers in re-crucifying Christ through their vices, detraction and opposition to the crusade? Would they help to bury Christ or offer him a drink on the cross as did those who contributed alms to the crusade project and assisted the poor crusaders who were Christ's members? These tableaux thus became not only an aid to memory, as Mary Carruthers has so eloquently described, but the means of spurring audiences to re-enactive participation in the crusade project.[27]

Participants in a culture in the throes of the transition from oral memory to written record, crusade preachers invoked the concept of legal memory as well, describing Christ's body as a charter granting redemption, or his blood as erasing the sins recorded by a clerk-like Devil in the courtroom of the final judgment. The cloth symbol sewn onto the crusader's clothing as a memorial of his or her vow became the equivalent of the crosses which substituted as signatures on contemporary charters: a visual and commemorative symbol of an oral oath.[28] Recruiters also invoked oral traditions, alluding to the heroes of the *Song of Roland* (Charlemagne, Roland, Oliver) and Arthurian legend. Some of the most memorable "crusading" epics or songs were written by clerics and both poems and sermons were intended to remind audiences of the deeds of former crusaders while shaming current audiences into emulating them.[29] *Exempla* featuring the exploits of famous crusaders inserted into crusading sermons served the same commemorative function as récits in the hall of a local lord or family memories preserved in oral form in aristocratic households. Many preachers participated in, dialogued with, and in some instances, challenged militaristic culture. Monks and secular clerics often came from noble stock, were trained in the Latin poetry of the *trivium*, and some were noted troubadours or poets themselves, such as Hélinand of Froidmont and Fulk of Marseilles, bishop of Toulouse.[30]

Memory was also enshrined and symbolized in sacred spaces including the Holy Sepulcher, revered not only as the site of Christ's passion and entombment and his resurrection, but as a church originally built by Constantine. Control of access to it and accusations of the desecration of pilgrims to it had figured powerfully in Urban II's sermons for the First Crusade.[31] Jerusalem's capture by the First Crusaders became an event to be commemorated in and of itself in a liturgical feast day, while the feast days of the Invention and Exaltation of the Cross (by Constantine/Helen and Heraclius respectively) further reinforced the symbolic manifestation, in the physical relics of the True Cross, of the doctrine of redemption on the cross and the sacraments of the church (particularly penance, baptism and the Eucharist) which were held to have flowed, literally, from the crucified Christ's side. The most famous fragment of the True Cross was wielded as a war standard by the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem, but multiple fragments of it were also brought back by pilgrims and crusaders to Latin Christendom and embedded, often, in liturgical crosses used in processions commemorating these feast days (as well as Good Friday, Easter, etc.).[32] The psychological shockwaves which could be triggered by trained rhetoricians through tapping such associations were emotionally and spiritually seismic. Saladin's capture of the relic of the True Cross at the battle of Hattin (1187) and his subsequent seizure of the city of Jerusalem were graphically depicted in appeals from Gregory VIII's *Audita Tremendi* onwards. Preachers exhorted their audiences to respond as had Eli and Uriah at the Philistines' capture of the ark. The effect was only reinforced when recruiters such as Gerald of Wales lifted liturgical crosses in many instances containing fragments of the True Cross as rallying banners.[33]

As the crusading theater expanded, the techniques employed to justify, contextualize and memorialize the eastern Crusades were applied to other arenas, including

the Baltic, where the imagery of missionary-saints, martyrdom and dowry was employed in preaching, papal letters and the chronicle of Henry of Livonia.[34] In Iberia, the memory of Charlemagne and the pilgrimage to Santiago da Compostela became powerfully interwoven with crusading and it is no accident that Archbishop Rodrigo of Toledo, who became involved in the promotion of crusade in France prior to the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212), produced multiple histories of "Christian" Iberia and polemical works.[35] During the anti-heretical Crusades in southern France, papal bulls commemorated the slain papal legate Peter of Castelnau as a martyr to the faith, while preachers circulated tales of heretical beliefs, atrocities, and the desecration of churches and relics which served a function similar to the remembered "pollution" of holy places and pilgrims by Saracens in the Holy Land.[36]

Proponents of "political" Crusades against enemies of the papacy also manufactured and appealed to civic, biblical, crusading and prophetic memory. Frederick II and his heirs (particularly Manfred) were accused of fostering heretics, facilitating apostasy and persecuting the church by employing Muslims in their armies who desecrated crosses and sacred spaces. In Venice, the papal legate Ottavio had the half-naked female victims of atrocities committed by Alberigo da Romano paraded before audiences to brand in their memory what the enemies of church were capable of, while Salimbene da Parma eerily evoked the words attributed to crusaders responding to Urban II's speech at Clermont ("God wills it!") by describing crowds chanting "So be it!" in response to Ottavio's ensuing crusade sermon. In his impassioned appeal, Ottavio recited biblical verses traditionally employed in the formal liturgical malediction of enemies of the church, authorities which threatened the extinguishment of the memory of the wicked and the preservation of the memory of the just. Salimbene claimed that Alberigo's despicable deeds and Ottavio's depiction of the popular Old Testament example of the shameful abuse and murder of the Levite's concubine (punished by military force by Israel) caused many of both sexes to take the cross against Alberigo. Salimbene clearly envisioned the current anti-imperial crusade as equivalent to the First Crusade. Another papal legate preaching the crusade against Ezzelino da Romano used the example of the Maccabees and the local patron, Saint Anthony, to call his audience to avenge Ezzelino's own wicked acts: biblical warriors mingled with contemporary vendetta and cult of the saints.[37]

As crusading persisted throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and beyond, images of crusaders as ideal penitents or as martyrs and/or confessors became reworked into the daily devotional lives of individuals who never left Latin Christendom. The Crusades and crusaders entered liturgical, homiletical and exegetical memory. Surviving appeals and treatises for the Albigensian, Fifth and later Crusades actively invoked families' crusading traditions through memorializing the names of illustrious crusaders. James of Vitry chose James of Avesnes (famously slain at Arsuf in 1191) as an example his aristocratic audiences would eagerly emulate. The early-thirteenth century crusading treatise known as the *Brevis ordinacio* similarly invoked the heroic exploits of well-known contemporary crusading veterans (James of Avesnes, Hugh of Beauchamp and Enguerrand of Boves) as exemplars

meant to spur the reluctant to take the cross.[38] Contemporary anonymous sermons delivered in Paris transformed commemorative motifs from sermons for the recently deceased, including a stress on assisting those in purgatory, into promotion of the crusade: both unnamed and well-known "crusaders" including Simon of Montfort and Charlemagne's legendary almsgiving martyred knight became templates for a pious death.[39]

Odo of Cheriton, Stephen Langton and many other thirteenth-century preachers worked crusaders or members of the military orders into treatises and sermons intended for domestic audiences on Palm Sunday and Good Friday as examples of devout penitents.[40] The image and commemoration of the crusade became increasingly embedded within the liturgical year and the culture of Latin Christendom. This occurred not only on feasts obviously associated with relics and saints tied to the Holy Land, but in everyday forms of devotion such as the recitation of the paternoster, urged as a form of participation by laypersons in liturgies organized in aid of the crusade and popularized as a prayer which the devout should learn to guard against heresy. In a gloss of "thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven," both the crusade preaching treatise the *Brevis ordinacio* and Odo of Cheriton's unpublished treatise on the paternoster presented crusaders as ideal penitents. Motivated by remembrance of the redemption story and the example of Christ's death embodied in the Holy Sepulcher and other sacred places visited by so many kings and princes, they took the sign of the cross and exposed themselves to dangers against the enemies of Christ's cross, fortified by the "daily bread" of preaching, confession and the Eucharistic memorial and reenactment of Christ's sacrifice.[41]

The commemoration of new martyrs and confessors for the faith naturally segued into the field of hagiography. Recent crusading dead were memorialized as martyrs and their sacrifice validated (sometimes in the face of those contesting their designation as such) in visions circulated by preachers and survivors. These visions appear to have been consciously or unconsciously modeled on accounts of those "martyred" during the First Crusade and the soldiers of Charlemagne slain while fighting the infidel. In the hagiographical life of Mary of Oignies written as anti-heretical propaganda for Fulk, bishop of Toulouse (a co-preacher with James of Vitry of the Albigensian crusade), James portrays Mary as desirous of dying as a confessor for the faith on crusade. Her decision came after a vision of angels carrying the souls of northern crusaders "martyred" at Montgey to heaven without any purgatory in reward for their desire to avenge Christ's injuries at the hands of the enemies of his cross. Humbert of Romans would include all three examples in his crusade preaching treatise. In letters circulated to preaching centers in Latin Christendom, similar visions were attributed to a survivor of the disastrous rout which occurred on the Decapitation of Saint John the Baptist during the Fifth Crusade. Odo of Châteauroux faced a similar challenge after the disaster at Mansurah: he preached two sermons, probably delivered to survivors and regular religious in Acre on the first anniversary of the deaths of Robert of Artois and many other crusaders outlining, rationalizing and commemorating their sacrifices: the dead were

held up as examples to imitate and doubts concerning their sacrifice and salvation addressed.[42]

The audience of at least one of these sermons was probably Robert's brother Louis IX, who would himself be commemorated as a saint in numerous *vitae*, sermons, liturgies, masses and John of Joinville's biography. Louis IX's case illustrates the intersection of what contemporaries (clerical, mendicant, papal and knightly) considered to be the essential qualities of a good king and a saint. Among the virtues attributed as evidence of Louis' sanctity, symbolized by the crusader's cross he wore twice and commemorated in all of these literary genres, were: the renunciation of riches and family, willingness to risk danger and suffering for Christ's sake, refusal to apostatize during his captivity in Egypt, and his death on the crusade to Tunisia. Sermons written during the reign of Louis' successor Philip of Valois illustrate how Louis' image was utilized to validate the royal dynasty but also to remind them of their duty to protect the church against pagans and persecutors and criticize the failings of contemporary rulers. Louis became one of a long line of pious "French" rulers including Pepin, Charlemagne, Louis the Pious, and more recent kings involved in political Crusades on behalf of the papacy (including Louis' son Philip, Charles of Anjou, Charles II of Anjou and Robert of Sicily). As with the anonymous crusaders invoked in crusading and devotional sermons as exemplars of penance or martyrdom, Louis, once canonized, became through the liturgical performance of his feast day and the sermons and readings on that day, an example commemorated and held up for others to emulate. Commemoration and memory in crusading sermons thus simultaneously served religious, political, familial, institutional and cultural aims.[43] In fact Caroline Smith has argued that by Joinville's period, it was not the biblical period or the imagined past of the *chansons da geste* which were the primary point of reference for crusaders, but rather the recent history of the Crusades which provided "rousing exemplars," a "source of guidance" and a yardstick by which to "measure current successes and failures."[44]

Preachers also utilized more humble crusaders as examples of the virtuous dead whose example taught the living to reject the transitory pleasures of the world. Ideal *milites* aided the poor and needy, honored ecclesiastics and defended the church against tyrants, heretics, pagans, schismatics and other enemies of the faith of Christ while disciplining sinners and criminals in their lands (including the usurers, public prostitutes, *joculatores* and gamblers who were the object of so many reform campaigns allied with crusade recruiting and military operations). Similarly model burghers eschewed avarice, fraud and rapine and supported the poor and pilgrims financially, as did exemplary matrons whose chaste and sober conduct and dress and charity were the hallmark of the *mulieres sanctae* allied with and overseen by crusade preachers such as James of Vitry, John of Nevilles and Conrad of Marburg: Mary of Oignies, Lutgard of Aywières, Christina *Mirabilis* and Elizabeth of Hungary. One thinks too of Isabelle, sister of the crusading Louis IX.[45] In his sermons to the grieving, James of Vitry appended another generic model of an ideal deceased person whose life should furnish not only a *memento mori*, but reproduceable example similar to the martyrs and other saints: the description fits the qualities expected of

crusaders as well as other penitents eager to earn salvation through their own efforts in life and after death with the support of their living family members, who must not defraud the dead or the poor in retaining alms left in the deceased's will for the good of their soul. James' concern became more and more of a pressing issue when crusade preachers, including the mendicant orders, became responsible for the collection of unfulfilled bequests. By the mid-thirteenth century, the crusade vow was also increasingly being granted by recruiters to the ill or aged with the expectation that it would be almost instantaneously redeemed or vicariously fulfilled or redeemed upon their decease by their relatives, either through personal participation in crusade or giving alms.[46]

From at least early thirteenth century onwards, crusade sermons present the crusade as way of remembering and assisting the dead in purgatory through taking the crusader's cross and applying indulgence to deceased family members, or through participating in the prayers, processions and almsgiving organized for the crusade and earning partial indulgences. These forms of intercession were also believed to assist fighting crusaders through invoking the spiritual and military assistance of saints and angels in heaven and Christ himself. The invocation of divine and saintly assistance and the notion that prayers and almsgiving could assist the dead were prevalent from before the First Crusade until the very end of crusading, although in this as in many other devotional practices, formal doctrines and theological explanations were slow to catch up to living practice. The promise of partial and plenary indulgences offered to participants of all stripes (transferrable to living and deceased family members), while derived partly from traditions of monastic intercession and pilgrimage, meant that the Crusades became integrated into the livings' commemoration of and assistance offered to the dead in purgatory.[47]

Some crusader recruiters were accused of claiming that they could deliver specific souls from purgatory for individuals who took the cross or otherwise contributed to the crusade. James of Vitry's generation circulated *exempla* featuring grateful deceased family members appearing to crusaders and thanking them for the indulgences they had earned which freed them from purgatory, a concept later infamously popularized by the indulgence preacher Tetzel against whom Martin Luther fulminated. A similar ambivalence marked the treatment of deceased crusaders as martyrs. Lingering unease concerning the supreme efficacy of the crusade indulgence (which depended on contrition and right motives and behavior of the crusader) is revealed in the request of the anonymous author of the "Provencal fragment" for intercession for recently deceased crusaders and himself in the form of a paternoster recited by those reading his account of the Fifth Crusade.[48] Wills from crusaders made during the campaign of the Fifth Crusade also demonstrate concern for additional suffrages to ease the potential purgatorial suffering of deceased *crucesignati*, including masses, alms and bequests in aid of other crusaders. These requests, as with the almsgiving, prayers and liturgy organized during the campaign of the First and subsequent Crusades, demonstrate an insecurity about the efficacy of the crusade indulgence even for those who died on crusade, probably a by-product of crusade preachers' emphasis on the necessity of proper intent and

motivation—renouncing vice, family, possessions and homeland and potentially dying for the sake of Christ, maintaining oneself in an appropriate penitential state manifested by frequent confession, communion, almsgiving and refraining from sexual sins, dissidence, gambling and other sins which chroniclers and preachers lamented afflicted many crusading armies. Crusaders and their families were worried too over the potential lack of a body on which to focus commemoration of the deceased (in the form of a monastic foundation, a tomb in a church where prayers or masses were recited for benefit of the dead's soul), as often pilgrims were buried at sea or in foreign lands. Preachers responded by depicting expiring crusaders comforted by angels and ushered directly into heaven.[49]

In conclusion, the management of the many forms of memory of the crusade through preaching would remain important for crusading even after the fall of Acre in 1291, as Crusades to the Holy Land were mooted (earlier histories of the crusade were recopied and utilized by treatise-writers with papal, royal and aristocratic audiences in mind) and active campaigning continued in the Iberian peninsula and in Crusades against the Turk and the Hussites. The printed letters of indulgence which characterized the fund-raising nature of the preaching of the crusade in the later Middle Ages also stressed the need for remembering and assisting eastern Christians against the Turk or Hussite heretics and the imperative to memorialize and assist oneself and one's relatives in purgatory through the acquisition of the crusade indulgence. The tirades of Martin Luther and other reformers against indulgence-sellers such as Tetzel and the spectacular success of preachers such as John of Capistrano in recruiting for the Crusades against the Turk in the later fifteenth through mid-sixteenth centuries, signing individual recruits determined to fulfill their vows as well as selling indulgences suggests, too, that the ideal of personal participation in the crusade and the role of the crusade preacher remained strong at least until the early modern period.[50]

Notes

1 For some useful general works on sermon studies, see the further reading section. For sermons on the dead, see David L. d'Avray, *Death and the Prince: Memorial Preaching before 1350* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Penny J. Cole, David L. d'Avray and Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The Application of Theology to Current Affairs: Memorial Sermons on the Dead of Mansurah and on Innocent IV," *Historical Research* 63.152 (1990): 227–47.

2 Lucie Doležalová, *The Making of Memory in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2010); William J. Purkis, "Memories of the Preaching of the Fifth Crusade in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum*," *Journal of Medieval History* 40.3 (2014): 329–45; William J. Purkis, "Crusading and Crusade Memory in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum*," *Journal of Medieval History* 39.1 (2013): 100–27.

3 For preachers' tools, see Siegfried Wenzel, *Medieval* Artes Praedicandi*: A Synthesis of Scholastic Sermon Structure* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 2015) and the classic studies by Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Preachers,* Florilegia *and Sermons: Studies on the* Manipulus Florum *of Thomas of Ireland* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1979) and "*Statum invenire*: Schools, Preachers and New Attitudes to the Page," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson, Giles Constable, Carol D. Lanham and Charles H. Haskins (Boston: Medieval Academy of

America Reprints, 1991), pp. 201–28. For biblical exegesis, see Frans van Liere, *An Introduction to the Medieval Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Lesley Smith, *Masters of the Sacred Page: Manuscripts of Theology in the Latin West to 1274* (South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001); Philippe Buc, *L'ambiguïté du livre: prince, pouvoir, et people dans les commentaires de la Bible au Moyen Age* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1994).

4 See notes 1 and 2 above and the discussion on pp. 13–14.

5 Nicholas Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012), esp. p. 11; Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: the Limousin and Gascony, c.970–c.1130* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Caroline Smith, *Crusading in the Age of Joinville* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

6 See Paul Alphandéry and Alphonse Dupront, *La chrétienté et l'idée de croisade*, 2 vols. (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 1954–1959); Philippe Buc, *Holy War, Martyrdom and Terror: Christianity, Violence and the West* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015); Jay Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse* (New York: Basic Books, 2011); Jean Flori, *L'islam et la fin des temps. L'interprétation prophétique des invasions musulmanes dans la chrétienté médiévale* (Paris: éd. du Seuil, 2007).

7 Edward Peters, *The First Crusade: "The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres" and Other Source Materials*, 2nd edn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998); Marek Tamm, "How to Justify a Crusade? The Conquest of Livonia and New Crusade Rhetoric in the Early Thirteenth Century," *Journal of Medieval History* 39.4 (2013): 431–55; Jessalynn Bird, "Paris Masters and the Justification of the Albigensian Crusade," *Crusades* 6 (2007): 117–55; Rebecca Rist, *The Papacy and Crusading in Europe, 1198–1245* (New York: Continuum, 2009); William J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c.1095–c.1187* (Rochester: Boydell and Brewer, 2008).

8 See notes 5–7 above and the discussion on pp. 95–107; James M. Powell, "Myth, Legend, Propaganda, History: The First Crusade, 1140–ca. 1300," in *Autour de la première croisade*, ed. Michel Balard (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1996), pp. 127–41; Marcus Bull and Damien Kempf, eds., *Writing the Early Crusades: Text, Transmission and Memory* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2014).

9 See note 10, Jessalynn Bird, "Preaching and Narrating the Campaign of the Fifth Crusade: Bible, Liturgy, and Sermons," in *The Uses of the Bible in Crusading Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Lapina and Nicholas Morton (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming 2016). Humbert of Romans engaged in a similar process in two treatises written to educate crusade preachers and to support the crusade in preparation for the Second Council of Lyons (1274). See Jessalynn Bird, Edward Peters and James M. Powell, eds., *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), pp. 453–65.

10 Jessalynn Bird, "Oliver of Paderborn," in *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History: Vol. 4 (1200–1350)*, ed. David Thomas and Alex Mallett (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 212–29; Jessalynn Bird, "The *Historia Orientalis* of Jacques de Vitry: Visual and Written Commentaries as Evidence of a Text's Audience, Reception and Utilization," *Essays in Medieval Studies: Proceedings of the Illinois Medieval Association* 20 (2003): 56–74; Jean Donnadieu, *Jacques de Vitry:* Histoire Orientale (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008).

11 The literature on this topic is vast. Good recent studies include Lesley A. Coote, *Prophecy and Public Affairs in Later Medieval England* (York: York Medieval Press, 2000); M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, "Louis IX, Crusade and the Promise of Joshua in the Holy Land," *Journal of Medieval History* 34 (2008): 245–74; Matthew Gabriele, *An Empire of Memory: The Legend of Charlemagne, the Franks and Jerusalem before the First Crusade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

12 Amy Remensynder, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995), pp. 2–4.

13 Penny J. Cole, "Humbert of Romans and the Crusade," in *The Experience of Crusading, vol. 1*, ed. Norman Housley, Peter W. Edbury and Jonathan P. Phillips (Cambridge: Cambridge

University Press, 2003), pp. 157–74; Humbert of Romans, *De predicatione crucis contra Saracenos/ Liber de predicatione sanctae crucis*, ed. Kurt Villads Jensen at: www.jggi.dk/Humbert.htm.

14 Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1991); Christophe T. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000). In contrast, the more informal reports of crusade sermons which survive preserve some specific referents to contemporary campaigns. See Bird, "Victorines"; Jessalynn Bird, "Preaching the Fifth Crusade: The Sermons of BN nouv. acq. lat. 999," in *Contextualising the Fifth Crusade*, ed. Jan Vandeburie, Elizabeth Mylod and Guy Perry (Abingdon: Routledge, forthcoming 2016).

15 Jonathan Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 37–60, 280–2. For later developments, see note 14 above; Bird et al., *Crusade and Christendom*, pp. 4–235.

16 See note 12 above; Bird et al., *Crusade and Christendom*, pp. 4–9, 28–37; Bird, "Victorines." For *peccatis exigentibus*, see Martin Aurell, *Des Chrétiens contre les Croisades, XII^e-XIII^e siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2013) and Elizabeth Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading, 1095–1274* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

17 Bird et al., *Crusade and Christendom*, pp. 95–105, 158–225, 366–84; Phillips, *Second Crusade*, pp. 79–98; Gary Dickson, *The Children's Crusade: Medieval History, Modern Mythistory* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), esp. p. 42; Hermann Hoogeweg, "Die Kreuzpredigt des Jahres 1224 in Deutschland mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Erzdiöcese Köln," *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 4 (1890): 54–74.

18 See note 6 above; Christoph T. Maier, "Crusade and Rhetoric against the Muslim Colony of Lucera: Eudes of Châteauroux's *Sermones de Rebellione Sarracenorum Lucherie in Apulia*," *Journal of Medieval History* 21.4 (1995): 343–85; Jessalynn Bird, "Crusade and Conversion after the Fourth Lateran Council: James of Vitry's and Oliver of Paderborn's Missions to Muslims Reconsidered," *Essays in Medieval Studies: Proceedings of the Illinois Medieval Association* 21 (2004): 23–47, reprinted in *The Spiritual Expansion of Medieval Latin Christendom: The Asian Missions*, ed. James D. Ryan (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 41–66; Bird et al., *Crusade and Christendom*, pp. 306–47.

19 Bird, "Preaching and Narrating"; Jessalynn Bird, "James of Vitry's Sermons to Pilgrims (*Sermones ad peregrinos*): A Recontextualization," *Essays in Medieval Studies: Proceedings of the Illinois Medieval Association* 25 (2008): 81–113, esp. pp. 94–6, 99.

20 Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: From the Beginning to 1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). For more on architecture, liturgy, relics and monastic life, see the relevant chapters in this volume.

21 Phillips, *Second Crusade*, pp. 63, 122–4, 126–7; Bird et al., *Crusade and Christendom*, pp. 321–25; Renier of Liège, *Annales Sancti Jacobi Leodiensis*, ed. L.C. Bethmann, *MGH SS* 16:651–80, here p. 673.

22 See notes 43–4 below; William Chester Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979); Nicholas Vincent, *The Holy Blood: King Henry III and the Westminster Blood Relic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Bird, "Victorines"; Alfred J. Andrea, *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 223–48; David M. Perry, *Sacred Plunder: Venice and the Aftermath of the Fourth Crusade* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2015).

23 Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), pp. 160–70; Bird et al., *Crusade and Christendom*, pp. 95–105, 374–85; Jessalynn Bird, "Rogations, Litanies and Crusade Preaching: The Liturgical Front in the Early Thirteenth Century," in *The Papacy, Peace and the Crusade: Essays in Memory of James M. Powell*, ed. Jessalynn Bird (Abingdon: Routledge, forthcoming 2016).

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39 I am writing an article on these and other crusading sermons, preserved in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 14470, fols. 283vb–86rb and 302rb–305va. Comparable *exempla* and sentiments are utilized by James of Vitry and Odo of Cheriton. See T.F. Crane, ed., *The* Exempla *or Illustrative Stories from the* Sermones Vulgares *of Jacques de Vitry* (London: Publications of the Folk-Lore Society, 1890), nos. 87, 89; Odo of Cheriton, *De defunctis secundum Ioh[anne]m c[apitulum] xxiii*, in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 16506, fols. 263vb–265rb and *De defunctis s[ecundum] iohanem*, in BN Lat. 16506, fols. 265rb–266va.

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41 Bird, "Far be it."

42 The chronicler Peter of Vaux-de-Cernay similarly presented anti-heretical crusaders as martyrs and pilgrims in his history, drawing on oral material circulated by Cistercian and Paris-trained individuals responsible for preaching the crusade. James of Vitry also depicted those who died on the campaign of the Fifth Crusade from combat, disease and natural disasters as martyrs in letters to those responsible for preaching the crusade and organizing liturgical intercession for it in France, Flanders-Brabant and other regions. See James of Vitry, *Lettres*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens (Leiden: Brill, 1969), I.71, 78, II. 79, 97; IV.105–6, 109–11, VI.130–3; Peter of Vaux-de-Cernay, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, trans. W.A. and M.D. Sibly (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998); Cole, *Preaching the Crusades*, pp. 235–43; Cole et al., "Application of Theology"; Peter Jackson, *The Seventh Crusade, 1244–1254: Sources and Documents* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 170–3; Anneke Mulder-Bakker, *Mary of Oignies: Mother of Salvation* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007); and notes 41–2 below.

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3

THE LITURGICAL MEMORY OF JULY 15, 1099

Between history, memory, and eschatology

M. Cecilia Gaposchkin

Raymond of Aguilers, a clerical participant in the First Crusade and a witness to the final siege and the ultimate storming and capture of Jerusalem, explained that the triumphant events of July 15, 1099 would be commemorated in the liturgy for centuries to come.

> A new day, new gladness, new everlasting happiness, and the fulfillment of our toil and love brought forth new words and songs for all. This day, which I affirm will be celebrated in the centuries to come, changed our grief and struggles into gladness and rejoicing. I further state that this day ended all paganism, confirmed Christianity, and restored our Faith. "This is the day which the Lord has made; we shall rejoice and be glad in it" and deservedly because on this day God shone forth and blessed us [cf. Isaiah 65.17] . . . This day, the Ides of July, shall be celebrated to the praise of glory of the name of God, who in response to the prayers of His church returned in faith and blessing to His children Jerusalem as well as its land which he had pledged to the Fathers. At this time we also chanted the Office of the Resurrection, since on this day He, who by His might, arose from the dead, restored us through His kindness.[1]

In 1099 immediately upon taking the city, the Franks used the Office of Resurrection – the Easter Liturgy – out of its seasonal cycle. They performed the office that celebrated the single most important moment of Christian triumph in the large arc of salvation history at the very place of that triumph and its sacralized memorialization (and the object of the Crusades itself, beside) to offer thanksgiving for this new, more recent triumph. It was a way of piercing the victorious present with the memory of the Resurrection in order to align the meaning of the two events. Raymond foresaw that the day itself – the Ides of July [July 15] – would be celebrated for centuries to come. Two generations later, William of Tyre, the

Archbishop of Tyre, explained that in the days following the capture of the city the authorities established July 15 as a feast day that was to be celebrated every year on the anniversary of the capture of the city:

> In order that the memory of this great event might be better preserved, a general decree was issued which met with universal approval and sanction. It was ordained that this day be held sacred and set apart from all others as a time when, for the glory and praise of the Christian name, there should be recounted all that had been foretold by the prophets concerning this event.[2]

The feast commemorating the July 15 victory was titled "the Jerusalem feast" and was incorporated into the liturgical calendar of the Holy Sepulcher and the Patriarchate of Jerusalem.[3] Interest in the July 15 feast has grown in recent years, as, following the work of Amnon Linder and Christoph Maier, historians have become increasingly interested in the ways in which the aims and aspirations of crusading became incorporated into liturgical ritual in both Jerusalem and the West.[4] Raymond and William both speak about the institution of the feast in terms of preserving the memory of the Christian victory, placing the event, and in turn its memorialization, in the eschatological framework that encompassed the Old Testament, Prophecy, the Resurrection, the end of paganism, and future glory. The liturgy was thus explicitly a vehicle of commemoration, but also of sacralization and interpretation. Further the events of July 15, 1099, through the exegesis of the liturgy and prophecy, was engulfed by and thus subsumed into sacred history.

Liturgy, memory, and exegesis

The liturgy was explicitly about memory.[5] Christ himself had said "do this in remembrance of me" (Luke 22.19) and thereby established the core ritual of the Catholic church, the Eucharistic sacrifice (the mass). Each mass was a recollection, a reenactment of, and a making present of Christ's sacrifice on the cross. The expression of divine praise continued throughout the day and night in the Divine Office. Throughout the year, feast days commemorated the lives (and deaths) of the saints. The ecclesiastical calendar found at the beginning of many liturgical volumes defined sacred time, balancing the events from the life of Christ and his mother (the Annunciation, the Presentation at the Temple, Assumption, Easter, and so forth), with the later witnesses to the faith exemplified by the lives and deaths of the saints. As the liturgy grew, these witnesses to the story of the church – the saints – were increasingly added to the sanctorale (the fixed liturgical calendar), thus constructing sacred history through the memory of historical exemplars of faith and salvation. The whole purpose of these celebrations was at once to praise and to remember. The smallest liturgical honor one could offer a saint was called, simply, a *memoria*, performed lest the Christian community relegate the saint's memory to oblivion. The liturgy was the means by which sacred memory was hypostatized, given form and continued reality.[6]

Augustine, in the *Confessions*, offered an elegant meditation on how memory connected to time in the singing of the liturgy. "Suppose I am to recite a psalm which I know," he began,

> Before I begin, my expectation is directed toward the whole. But when I have begun, the verses from it which I take into the past become the object of my memory. The life of this act of mine is stretched two ways, into my memory because of the words I have already said and into my expectation because of those which I am about to say.[7]

The liturgy thus connected the past, through memory, to the future, in anticipation. Further, the performance and experience of the liturgy was entirely dependent upon memory and fostered by the medieval arts of memory.[8] The meaning of the liturgy was thus informed by associations, valences, and nuances of various chant, prayers, and biblical and extra-biblical texts that formed the core – often repeated and thus deeply engrained – of any particular rite. Chief among these, as Augustine indicated, was of course the Psalms, the weekly recitation of which formed the core of Benedictine practice and spirituality, but encompassed a wide range of texts and chant that, performed day after day, week after week, and year after year, constituted a common fund of images, texts, and music which could be used in different ways and at different moments to express devotional ideas and to memorialize events in a particular way. These complex associations of words, memory, music, and meanings were further nurtured by the ways in which musical and oral repetition locks in memory, particularly when words and poetic meter are associated with music.[9] This is even more so in sacred music, which, in addition to its iterative and musical heft, carried the weight of its transcendental importance and its regular and repetitive performance. Most liturgical books used in the choir gave only the chant incipit (the cue), just enough to trigger those singing to recall the text and music that went with it. Thus, for instance, in the Templar Ordinal of the second half of the twelfth century containing the rite of the Holy Sepulcher, the instructions for the first antiphon to be sung during the First Vespers service of the Jerusalem feast (July 14) reads simply: "Ecce nomen domini."[10] (An ordinal is the book that outlines the ritual order of the year for a particular church or community, explaining who does, sings, or recites what; an antiphon is a line of chant, often as we will see below, derived or adapted from scripture, that is sung following the recitation of a Psalm or Canticle.) This incipit referred to a well-known antiphon used for the First Sunday of Advent throughout Europe, and incorporated in the Advent cycle in the Holy Sepulcher rite itself.[11] Its cue in the Jerusalem feast (not celebrated during Advent) would have triggered the recitation of the entire antiphon, known from memory. But in turn, it would have also evoked the larger liturgical cycle of Advent (sung in December) to which it belonged, and in turn again the larger theological and exegetical interpretations of Advent. That is, the incipit of the antiphon did not just trigger the recall of the antiphon itself, but the entire apparatus – and the meaning – of the service or feast or season to which it originally belonged, and then, in turn, the scriptural

basis in which the chant was rooted. This would have certainly included the book of Isaiah, the scriptural text that was prescribed in the Divine Office throughout the season of Advent for the Matins readings. I will make the point further below that the association, in this way, of the feast of the Liberation with the celebration of Advent structured the overall interpretation of First Crusade and its role in salvific history. Memory of recitation, memory of scripture, and memory of events all worked together to create the links in past events that knitted their interpretation into a cohesive and interlocking narrative of sacred history.

The meaning of those interlocking associations were themselves animated by the deep intertextuality and exegetical commentary of the liturgy as a whole. Although monks, canons, clerics, and nuns may have known the Bible through and through, their most frequent encounter with it was through the liturgy, in the readings during the mass and office, and at other ritualized, often chanted, points during the day.[12] The liturgy was engaged in a constant interpretive commentary on scripture, and in turn on itself. Susan Boynton is particularly helpful on this point when she writes:

> The diverse uses of the Bible in medieval Latin rites reflected the ideas associated with biblical texts in Christian exegesis, including allegorical and typological interpretation, and particularly Christological readings of the Old Testament. The juxtaposition of biblical texts in the liturgy, like the citation of authorities in a sermon, produced an implicitly exegetical structure. Singing and reading words from Scripture in combination and alternation with nonscriptural ones placed the biblical passages in new contexts, endowing them with multiple layers of meaning that were also articulated by exegetes. Thus the selection and combination of biblical texts in the chants and readings of the liturgy constitute a system of interpretation that parallels the readings of these same texts by patristic writers. The annual cycle of biblical readings at Mass both reflected a liturgical theology and provided the foundation for interpretations of feasts and seasons of the church year that were made manifest in the liturgical structures that grew up around them.[13]

This is important because the memory of a sacred event was thus, through the liturgy, always inflected by a web of associations formed by any particular liturgical skein. A single antiphon, a particular hymn, a specific liturgical reading, was a thread from and then back into an entirely different set of texts and chants that together made up a cohesive meaning that was more than the sum of its individual parts. The meaning of the liturgy was also imbued and augmented through biblical and exegetical associations inherent in the liturgy and fostered by the medieval arts of memory.

Finally, the liturgy worked on a series of different planes at the same time, connecting the moment of worship itself to the historic event it was celebrating, that event – through exegesis, memory, and musical and verbal/textual imprints – to other events of sacred history, and in particular events and prophecies outlined in

scripture, and ultimately to the eschatological plane. Thinking about the Eucharist in particular, in a book-length exploration entitled *Memory and Liturgy*, Peter Atkins, the retired Anglican Bishop and former Lecturer in Theology at Auckland, summarizes:

> "To remember" [as in, "do this in remembrance of me"] is to link past, present and future in a single fold. The brain has this fantastic capacity to work in a multi-time zone without losing touch (if it is functioning "normally") with the reality of time. I can make the past present, and I can imagine the future now, while at the same time remaining aware of the "history" of the past, and the "image" of the future. The brain does not operate on the "either-or" principle, but has a "both-and" ability. So in the liturgy the call "to remember" at the time of thanksgiving for the bread and wine at the Eucharist can *cause* the brain to recall the presence of Christ for this moment of time while also recognizing that Jesus is part of history and that his presence now foreshadows the coming again of Christ in future glory.[14]

Atkins argues that it is through memory that liturgy connects the present to different moments in the sacred past, and in turn to anticipate the future. Through the liturgy, sacred time could fold in on itself, with specific points touching each other in typological significance. In a dense and thoughtful essay on Jewish memory and history, Gabrielle Spiegel discusses the way in which medieval Jewish liturgy subsumed historical experience (in particular, trauma) into cyclical reenactment. She writes:

> The nature of any historical enterprise in a Biblical culture in which history must compete with a revealed past, is believed to enshrine all the really important norms of human conduct. For the Rabbis, the Bible "was not only a repository of history, but a revealed patterns of the whole of history." More recent or contemporary occurrences acquired meaning only insofar as they could be subsumed within Biblical categories of events and their interpretation bequeathed to the community through the medium of Scripture, that is to say, only in so far as they could be transfigured, ritually and liturgically, into repetitions and reenactments.[15]

There are differences, to be sure, with the theology of Christian liturgical enactment, but the process describes well the ways in which the recitation of Christian liturgy connected punctuated moments in history both to immediate experience and in turn to – or perhaps better, always in relation to – the atemporal and eschatological. The difference may lie in part in the comparative absence of Jewish historical writing in the Middle Ages (giving the burden of liturgy in communal memorialization even greater import) and in the explicitly eschatological framework of theology in the Christian liturgy that shaped the meaning of commemoration in the present's relationship to the future. Yet, at the heart of both is the importance of prophecy in

the understanding of the sacred past and the course of greater history, as well as the role of liturgy in interpreting the different ways in which prophecy was or was to be fulfilled in history. Spiegel continues by noting that "in liturgical commemoration, as in poetic oral recitation, the fundamental goal is, precisely, to revivify the past and make it live in the present, to fuse past and present, chanter and hearer, priest and observer, into a single collective entity."[16] The liturgy was both, and at the same time, sacred memory *and* eschatological history. For Spiegel, in the Jewish case, making meaning of historic events through liturgy was about giving trauma salvific weight precisely through mapping events onto – or collapsing them *into* – biblical models. In the example of the 1099 capture of Jerusalem, making meaning through liturgy was about associating the climactic act of war with a sanctioned pattern of sacred victories and triumphs.

Liturgy and the memory of the First Crusade

After the conquest of Jerusalem and the establishment of the Latin Kingdom, canons celebrating the Latin rite were installed at the Holy Sepulcher, the proper celebration of which had been the very object of the First Crusade.[17] The liturgy itself was confected from northern French liturgical sources, presumably both from books that came to the Holy Land with accompanying clergy and from ingrained memory or recitation and chant.[18] But the Franks also made some important local additions, including feasts for the patriarchs of Jerusalem (Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob) and, most important, the addition, as Raymond and William recalled, of the "Jerusalem feast" on July 15, which took its place in the Sanctorale alongside the Translation of Saint Benedict (July 11), and the feasts of Saint Praxedes and Marie Magdalene (July 21 and 22).[19] Although the rite of the Holy Sepulcher as a whole took some time to settle and solidify, and was probably reformed substantially in 1114 when the clergy of the Holy Sepulcher were reformed as Augustinian canons, there is every reason to believe that an elaborate office was confected at a very early date – perhaps as early as 1099 or 1100 – to celebrate and commemorate July 15.[20] This is the liturgical rite I consider in greater detail below. A half century later, on the fiftieth anniversary of the capture of the city (July 15, 1149), the newly rebuilt Holy Sepulcher was rededicated, and the entire liturgy was again reformed.[21] The Jerusalem liturgy incorporated into the ritual at this stage shifted the way in which the events of 1099 were remembered and commemorated.

In theory, the liturgy of the Holy Sepulcher was supposed to be celebrated throughout the Patriarchate, but, as is always the case, uniformity was impossible to ensure and there were local usages. A survey of manuscripts that appear to have been copied in the Latin West, both before and after 1187, show general adoption of the feast, although it seems it was suppressed or elided in some institutions after the loss of Jerusalem to the Ayyubids in 1187.[22] The Templars followed the rite of the local diocese in which they found themselves, and thus the ritual of the Jerusalem Temple includes what remains our best example of the liturgy that was celebrated in the holy city after 1149.[23] The Hospitaller liturgy was supposed to

follow the liturgy of the Holy Sepulcher, although a survey of Hospitaller liturgical manuscripts includes only two references to the "Liberatio Ierusalem" feast (as it came to be definitively known after 1149) outside of the Holy Land.[24] In turn, various forms of liturgical commemoration were also institutionalized in the West. Some kind of liturgical *commemoratio* of July 15 was either imported or adopted at a number of churches in the West, mostly in France, usually following the "liberatio" nomenclature, but sometimes commemorating it as the "captio" or, simply, the day of the *Sepulchrum Domini*.[25] The day was included in a variety of calendars, several proper hymns and prayers were composed for local uses, and several churches celebrated a full office in memory of the great victory. The very act of incorporating the capture of Jerusalem into the liturgical calendar was an explicit act of sacral memorialization. It was celebrated in some churches in the Latin West through the fifteenth century.

The most elaborate of the liturgical cycles confected to celebrate the miraculous victory of the Franks – and the liturgy that will concern us as our case study for the remainder of this chapter – was the full office and mass produced in Jerusalem, almost certainly at the Holy Sepulcher, following the victory of 1099. Although the earliest form of the office may not survive intact, we have a very good idea of what the office contained in general terms and just how it memorialized the conquest of 1099. We can ascertain the basic contours and the compositional principles of the early office as celebrated at the Holy Sepulcher (and probably Jerusalem as a whole) by carefully comparing the extant traditions that survive.[26] The office was put together using mostly existing chant known from the liturgy used throughout the West and brought to Jerusalem in 1099 with the Frankish crusaders and settlers. The chant that was chosen was overwhelmingly focused on Jerusalem, with almost all of the chant items speaking of Jerusalem, or of Sion. The chant was largely taken from the prophets (and mostly Isaiah) and largely from the Advent–Epiphany cycle. Of the 48 proper chant items that come from the office that most represents the earliest rite, 27 derive from Isaiah (28 if you count the Benedictus antiphon), 26 are found in the Advent liturgy, and nine from Epiphany, while the others come from Revelations, the Psalms, and the other prophets.[27] (If we take just those 29 items we know were probably derived from the earliest liturgy, the numbers are: 15 chants rooted in Isaiah, 18 coming from Advent, and seven from Epiphany.) The Psalms with which the antiphons were paired (antiphons being introductory to the recitation of a Psalm) were Psalms in praise of Jerusalem and God's power in Jerusalem. And the lections (liturgical readings) found in one of the second generation versions of the office (and perhaps used in the early liturgy) are also from the book of Isaiah, specifically Isaiah 60.1–62.6, the three chapters near the end of the book of Isaiah that constitute a coherent paean to Jerusalem and the people of God. The result was a sustained praise of Jerusalem in salvific history as God's city and gift to his chosen people. So, for example, during the Vespers service that was sung on the eve of the Feast, an antiphon, *Leva Ierusalem*, ran: "Lift up your eyes, Jerusalem, and see how mighty is your King. Behold your Savior comes to free you from your chains."[28] The verse, known intimately through the memory of repeated recitation, must have

taken a layer of new meaning in the wake of the 1099, as the Franks saw themselves as the liberators of a chained Jerusalem, reenacting the return of Jerusalem to the New Israelites after the long Babylonian captivity. The line itself comes from Isaiah 60.4: "Lift up your eyes all around," and in this liturgy it introduced the recitation of Psalm 124 – which was also about protection in Jerusalem. "Those who trust in the Lord are like Mount Sion, which cannot be moved, but abides forever in Jerusalem . . . But those who turn aside upon their crooked ways, the Lord will lead away with evildoers! Peace be in Israel." The antiphon was taken from the liturgy for the First Sunday in Advent,[29] and was itself infused with the language from Isaiah, 60 (specifically, here, 60.4).[30] The office in general followed these basic principles: Antiphons about Jerusalem, paired with Psalms or other scriptural texts, also about Jerusalem. The antiphon that followed was drawn from the liturgy for the second Saturday in Advent and rooted in Isaiah 11.12, read "The Lord will raise high the standard of victory among nations, and He will gather together the outcasts of Israel."[31] Psalm 125 began "When the Lord brought back the captivity of Sion, we became like men comforted . . ." The same was true for the chant sung during the long service of Matins. Many of the Responsories (chant that followed a liturgical reading) were drawn from chant rooted in Isaiah that were probably paired with the lections from Isaiah 60–62. The first reponsory of Matins echoed Isaiah 60.1: "Illuminare illuminare" (=Arise, be enlightened, O Jerusalem, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee. [v] And the gentiles shall walk in thy light, and kings in thy brightness of the rising). Since responsories "responded" to readings, the chant may well likely have followed the reading of Isiah 60.1–6. This line was from Epiphany liturgy, referring to the obeisance and reverence shown the Messiah, pointing to the Universal dominion of Endtimes. One version of the office indicated readings taken from Epiphany.[32] As with the Vespers sequence, the chant reached back to prophecy, and forward to Endtimes. Again and again.

This is where it gets interesting. The Jerusalem feast was included in the sanctorale – the cycle of days remembering the lives of the saints. Most saints' offices recounted the life, virtues, and sanctity of the saint *in* time as a historically specific witness to the life of Christ and the Christian faith. They were, in the Middle Ages, called *historiae* precisely because they told a story – precisely because they were *historical*.[33] Instead, the liturgy for the Jerusalem feast collapsed a specific event into eschatology. It memorialized 1099 as part of the great eschatological story of salvation, subsuming the climactic events of 1099 into the larger arc of sacred history that was predicated on prophecy (and in particular, Isaiah) and would be fulfilled at the Parousia. 1099 became, thus, what Philip Buc spoke of as a "node" in sacred history.[34]

> The scheme [of typology] . . . allowed a type to have plural antetypes, all the way to the Eschaton. This had consequences for conceptions of the historical process. Plural, partial accomplishments of a type became nodes of sacral temporality placed on the axis of History's last age opened up by Christ's First Coming. Anticipated by biblical types and prophecies, these momentous

> Events (or momentous characters) also pointed forward: they were themselves types and prophecies of a total fulfillment at the End of Time.[35]

The capture of Jerusalem was in a sense taken out of time and submerged through Prophecy into Eschatology.

Memory, prophecy, and eschatology

The prophecies of Isaiah, and the liturgy of Advent and Epiphany, are central to the conceptualization of the early "Jerusalem office" and thus the liturgical memorialization of July 15, 1099. The prophecies contained in the Book of Isaiah point toward the restoration of Judah and then the return of Jerusalem to the exiled Israelites during the Babylonian captivity. Under the new dispensation – that is, in its Christianized interpretation – Isaiah was understood as foretelling both the coming of the Messiah in the Incarnation, and in turn the Second Coming.[36] Isaiah prophesized that God would return Jerusalem to the redeemed exiles (here understood as crusaders). And, in the final chapters, the book of Isaiah looked forward to the place of Jerusalem in the final stages of God's plan, at the Endtimes.

These prophecies and their exegetical interpretation were fundamental to the Advent liturgy. The Advent liturgy, during the four weeks preceding Christmas and culminating in Epiphany, celebrated the coming of Christ both historically in the Incarnation, and, above all, eschatologically at the Second Coming.[37] Thus, a tenth-century mass blessing for the Second Sunday of Advent read:

> May God, whose only-begotten Son's past advent you believe in while waiting for the future one
>
> Defend you in this present life from all evil, and show Himself mild in his judgments
>
> So that, feed from the contagion of sin, you may fearlessly await His tremendous day of Judgment. Amen.[38]

Advent, before Christmas, was about the anticipation of the Messiah. Epiphany, the feast of the Magi, celebrated His manifestation and majesty. This theology was operative in the Latin Holy Land. In the earliest surviving Sacramentary (a priest's book) from the Holy Sepulcher scriptorium, a special mass sequence for the First Sunday in Advent, *Salus eterna*, include stanzas proclaiming to Christ: "Justify us by Your First Coming; Free us by Your Second, So that we, when You judge all things, when the great light has come . . . May then follow your footsteps wherever they are."[39] The Gospel readings for Advent in turn associated the First coming with the Baptist's preaching of Christ (Luke 3.1–6), Christ's entrance into Jerusalem (Matt 21.1–9),[40] and, crucially, Christ's return at the Endtimes (Luke 21.25–33). Above all, the mass and office cycles for Advent were thoroughly rooted in Old Testament prophecy and in particular Isaiah. The chant for the Advent office cycle, using Isaiah, evoked an arc of salvific history which sees the First Coming – Advent – as

itself the sign of the Second Coming. This liturgical narrative was carried through Christmas (the Coming) and into Epiphany (the Majesty).

The memorial and exegetical association with the Advent–Epiphany liturgy placed the memory of 1099 within the eschatological framework outlined by liturgical exegesis. William of Tyre, we saw, had explicitly said that in the days after the capture, the authorities had ordained that "in order that the memory of this great event might be better preserved," July 15 "be held sacred and set apart from all others as a time when, for the glory and praise of the Christian name, there should be recounted all that had been foretold by the prophets concerning this event."[41] It is in its dialogue with Advent and with Isaiah that the Jerusalem office made this claim. Here, the capture of Jerusalem in 1099 was the fulfillment of biblical prophecy that foresaw the return of Jerusalem to the Israelites after exile, and in turn the return of Jerusalem to the crusaders, the new Israelites, after a period of submission. In this, the liturgy was consonant with a number of the early chroniclers who saw the conquest of Jerusalem as the fulfillment of prophetic promises of the Old Testament, and in particular with the prophecy of Isaiah. The French Benedictine, Robert of Reims, was probably the author who most insisted on 1099 as the fulfillment of the words of Isaiah, but the argument is found throughout the early chroniclers.[42] This was itself an innovation, since the prophets, and Isaiah in particular, had not before been associated with post-biblical or pre-eschatological history, but rather had always been understood exegetically and typologically with reference to the New Testament and the New Dispensation.[43] Understanding Old Testament prophecy as having been *historically* fulfilled was a radical innovation.[44]

The great triumph of God's return of Jerusalem to the Christians in 1099 thus became a "node within Sacred History's course," foreseen by the prophecies of the Old Testament, revealed in the First Coming, and promising the Next. The liturgy did not only commemorate the capture of Jerusalem as the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy, it linked the capture of Jerusalem to the Second Coming as a salvific act, and as part of God's providential plan. It placed the climactic event of the First Crusade squarely within apocalyptic history, both by reaching backwards to Isaiah's prophetical promise and forward to the End of Time. This is suggested by those liturgical instances in which the feast did not draw from the Advent liturgy or Isaiah-inspired chant, but rather incorporated Jerusalem-specific imagery that was clearly about the glory of the New Jerusalem. That is, it is the exceptions that prove our rule. For example, a responsory rooted in the imagery of Revelation and belonging to the Easter cycle was squarely about future glory: "This is Jerusalem, the great city of the heavens, prepared as a bride of the lamb, since she has been made the tabernacle. [v] And the gates thereof shall not be shut."[45] Another responsory, taken from Revelation 21.10–12, echoed John's Apocalyptic vision of the future city of God: "And all the wall of precious stone, described by John, looking at the whole secret of the sky, that he called it the holy city."[46] The hymn chosen for the office was *Urbs beata*, a beautiful hymn for the Dedication of the church which draws on imagery from Revelation to praise the earthly church

as the image and gateway to the heavenly Jerusalem.[47] It was now Jerusalem itself, the city in Christian hands, that was the image of, and promise of, the future glory.

In this way, the memory of 1099 was inflected by a liturgy that linked the earthly Jerusalem to the Heavenly Jerusalem, and linked the prophesized return of Jerusalem to the Franks with the Apocalyptic return of Christ and the New Jerusalem. Multiple "liberations" or "freedoms" or "returns" could be imprints, foretold, of the greatest prophecy. In Buc's words, following the cues of the medieval exegetes, the progress of sacred history was "also, in part, a History including demoted apocalyptic moments. It may be that the events that had been seen in their own times as apocalyptic could transmute themselves into special nodes within sacred history's course precisely because of their apocalyptic charge."[48] The liberation of Jerusalem was at once the fulfillment of a prophesized freedom, and it was the promise of future liberation in the form of Apocalyptic salvation. The liturgy was the ideal vehicle to structure this complex and subtle interpretation, through its own layered nods at scripture, time, history, and Salvation. And the celebration of the Jerusalem office in turn confirmed the Frankish faithful who performed the liturgy on July 15 in churches (presumably) throughout Jerusalem, as the new Israelites, the new chosen of God, given Jerusalem by God as a pledge of the special covenant between Him and His people. It allowed, as Atkins has suggested, the community to remember the event as a confirmation of its role in Salvific history and to look forward through memory – that is, through the ritually instantiated interpretation of that past event – to a salvific future. Its celebration functioned not merely to commemorate the victory of 1099, but used that memory to inform the identity of the community celebrating itself as the New Israelites, confirmed through providential history as the beneficiaries of the prophecies of the Old Testament, in anticipation of the great promise of salvation.

Notes

1 Raymond d'Aguilers, *Le "Liber" de Raymond d'Aguilers*, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades 9 (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1969). Translation at: Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem; Translated with Introduction and Notes by John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1968), 128.

2 William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, CCCM 63, 63A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), VIII.24 Translation at: William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, ed. Emily Atwater Babcock and A.C. Krey (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), v. 1, 378.

3 On this feast and its liturgy, see: Amnon Linder, "The Liturgy of the Liberation of Jerusalem," *Mediaeval Studies* 52 (1990): 110–31; Amnon Linder, "A New Day, New Joy: The Liberation of Jerusalem on 15 July 1099," in *L'idea di Gerusalemme nella spiritualità cristiana del Medioevo: atti del Convegno internazionale in collaborazione con l'Instituto della Görres-Gesellschaft di Gerusalemme: Gerusalemme, Notre Dame of Jerusalem Center, 31 agosto – 6 settembre 1999* (Vatican, 2003). Simon John, "The 'Feast of the Liberation of Jerusalem': Remembering and Reliving the First Crusade in the Holy City, 1100–1187," *Journal of Medieval History* (2015): 409–31, and M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, "The Feast of the Liberation of Jerusalem in British Library Additional MS 8927 Reconsidered," *Mediaeval Studies* 77 (2015): 127–81 and *Invisible Weapons: Liturgy and the Making of Crusade Ideology* (Ithaca, NY:

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4 Broadly, on crusade and liturgy, see: Christoph T. Maier, "Crisis, Liturgy and the Crusade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 48 (1997): 628–57. Amnon Linder, *Raising Arms: Liturgy in the Struggle to Liberate Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages*. Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003). See also: Michael McCormick, "Liturgie et guerre des Carolingiens à la première croisade," in *Militia Christi' e crociata nei secoli XI–XII: atti della undecima settimana internazionale di studio Mendola* (Milan: Miscellanea del Centro di studi medioevali, 1992), 209–40; and "The Liturgy of War from Antiquity to the Crusades," in *The Sword of the Lord: Military Chaplains from the First to the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Doris L. Bergen (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), 45–67. David Bachrach, *Religion and the Conduct of War c. 300–c. 1215*. (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2003).

5 For treatments of liturgy and memory, see: Peter Atkins, *Memory and Liturgy: The Place of Memory in the Composition and Practice of Liturgy* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); Gabrielle Spiegel, "Memory and History: Liturgical Time and Historical Time," *History and Theory* 41, no. 2 (2002); Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005). I have included much the same paragraph in M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, "The Echoes of Victory: Liturgical and Para-Liturgical Commemorations of the Capture of Jerusalem in the West," *Journal of Medieval History* 40, no. 3 (2014): 1–2.

6 Spiegel, "Memory and History," 149–50.

7 Augustine. Confessions 11.28.38. Quoted by Margot Fassler, "The Liturgical Framework of Time and the Representation of History," in *Representing History, 900–1300: Art, Music, History*, ed. Robert A. Maxwell (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), 149.

8 Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*.

9 Wanda T. Wallace, "Memory for Music: Effect of Melody on Recall of Text," *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition* 20, no. 6 (1994): 1471–85.

10 Vatican Barberini Lat. 659, fol 101r. "Sebastián and the Templar Rite: Edition and Analysis of the Jerusalem Ordinal (Rome, Bib. Vat., Barb. Lat. 659) with a comparative study of the Acre Breviary (Paris, Bib. Nat., Ms. Latin 10478)" (Stanford University, 2011), 630.

11 CAO 2527, Cantus, with a wide array of witnesses. Vat Barb 659, 26v. Salvadó, "The Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre," 512.

12 I am indebted to Stan Metheny for making this point to me over the years.

13 Susan Boynton, "The Bible and the Liturgy," in *The Practice of the Bible in the MIddle Ages: Production, Reception, and Performance in Western Christianity*, ed. Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 10–11.

14 Atkins, *Memory and Liturgy*, xi.

15 Spiegel, "Memory and History," 152.

16 Spiegel, "Memory and History," 152.

17 Bernard Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church* (London: Variorum Publications, 1980), 12–13. Kaspar Elm, "La liturgie de l'Eglise latine de Jéruslaem au temps des croisades," in *Les Croisades: L'Orient dt l''occident d'Urbain II à Saint Louis*, ed. M. Rey-Delquee (Milan: Electa, 1997), 243–4.

18 Cristina Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusaelm: A study and Catalogue of the Manuscript Sources*, Bibliotheca Victorina XVI (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 44.

19 Rome Angelica 477, 4v; Paris BNF Lat 12056, 3r.

20 Gaposchkin, "The Feast of the Liberation." John, "The 'Feast of the Liberation of Jerusalem'."
21 Salvadó, "The Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre." Amnon Linder, "'Like Purest Gold Resplendent': The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Liberation of Jerusalem," *Crusades* 8 (2009).
22 This can be traced through Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular*. In addition, see Aspesi, "The Contribution of the Cantors" and "The *Libelli* of Lucca."
23 Rome, Vat Barberini 659.
24 Paris BNF nal 1689, Vienna ÖNB cod. 1928. For the survey of Hospitaller liturgical books more broadly, see: Cristina Dondi, "Hospitaller Liturgical Manuscripts and Early Printed books," *Revue Mabillion* n.s. 14 (=75) (2003): 225–59. Cristina Dondi, "The Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem (XII–XVI Century): With Special Reference to the Practice of the Orders of the Temple and St John of Jerusalem" (Ph.D., University of London, 2000). Vienna ÖNB cod. 1928 is not included in the catalogue.
25 Gaposchkin, "Echoes of Victory."
26 Gaposchkin, "The Feast of the Liberation." By comparing the chant items that survive in the two known traditions, we can isolate, at least, those items that derive from the original composition. Twenty-nine (of the 36) major chant items were common to both offices, and presumably derive from the earliest office.
27 For O^1: of the 36 major chant items (Antiphons and Responsories) that make up the office, 25 come from the Advent Cycle, and 24 come from Isaiah.
28 VA2. Leva Jerusalem oculos et vide potentiam regis ecce salvator venit solvere te a vinculo. Is. 60.4 CAO3606. Advent varia (Dom 1 Adv; and Monday 1 week in Advent). $=O^2$ VA3. Cf. William of Tyre 7.25.
29 CAO 2527.
30 This is the characterization in the New Oxford Bible, p. 897.
31 Levabit dominus signum in nationibus et congregabit dispersos Israel. Is. 11.12, CAO 3607, Sat 2nd week Advent, $=O^2$ VA3. CF WT 7.25.
32 Aspesi, "The Contribution of the Cantors," p. 13 of typescript, Lucca, Biblioteca Arcivescovile ms. 5, p. 57.
33 Ritva Jonsson, *Historia. Études sur la genèse des offices versifiés* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1968).
34 Philippe Buc, *Holy War, Martyrdom, and Terror: Christianity, Violence, and the West* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 278, 84.
35 Buc, *Holy War, Martyrdom, and Terror*, 278.
36 Elisabeth Mégier, "Christian Historical Fulfilments of Old Testament Prophecies in Latin Commentaries on the Book of Isaiah (ca. 400 to ca. 1150)," *Journal of Medieval Latin* 17 (2007); Elisabeth Mégier, "Spiritual Exegesis and the Church in Haimo of Auxerre's Commentary of Isaiah," in *The Multiple Meaning of Scripture: The Role of Exegesis in Early-Christian and Medieval Culture*, ed. Ienje van 't Spijker (Leiden: Brill, 2009).
37 On the medieval Advent cycle in the Western Middle Ages: Margot Fassler, "'Adventus' at Chartres: Ritual Models for Major Processions," in *Ceremonial Culture in Pre-Modern Europe* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007). Margot Fassler, "Sermons, Sacramentaries, and Early Sources for the Office in the Latin West: The Example of Advent," in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography: Written in Honor of Professor Ruth Steiner*, ed. Margot Fassler and Rebecca Baltzer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 15–47. Gunilla Björkvall, "'Expectantes dominum'. Advent, the Time of Expectation, as Reflected in Liturgical Poetry from Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," in *In Quest of the Kingdom: Ten Papers on Medieval Monastic Spirituality* (Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell International, 1991), 109–33; Robert C. Lagueux, "Sermons, Exegesis, and Performance: The Laon Ordo Prophetarum and the Meaning of Advent," *Comparative Drama* 43, no. 2 (2009): 197–220.
38 Björkvall, "'Expectantes dominum'," 112.
39 Rome Angelica 477 101r. This is AH 53, no. 1, and is discussed and translated in Björkvall, "'Expectantes dominum'," 124–5.

40 Paris BNF Lat 12056 9v–10r, "In illo tempore appropinquasset . . . Osanna filio david, benedictus qui venit in nomine domini."
41 Quoted above.
42 Matthew Gabriele, "From Prophecy to Apocalypse: The Verb Tenses of Jerusalem in Robert the Monk's *Historia* of the First Crusade," *Journal of Medieval History* (2016). Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986). Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099–1187)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).
43 Mégier, "Christian Historical Fulfilments of Old Testament Prophecies," 87–100.
44 A point made by Gabriele, "From Prophecy to Apocalypse."
45 O1: MRV3.
46 MRV6: **Lapides pretiosi** omnes muri tui [v] **Cumque a ioanne** describerentur universa secreta caeli intuens civitatem sanctam dixit.
47 H. Ashworth, "*Urbs beata Jerusalem*: Scriptural and Patristic Sources," *Ephemerides Liturgica* 70 (1956): 238–41.
48 Buc, *Holy War, Martyrdom, and Terror*, 278.

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4

CRUSADES, MEMORY AND VISUAL CULTURE

Representations of the miracle of intervention of saints in battle

Elizabeth Lapina

In 2014, the British Royal Mint issued a £2 coin to commemorate the beginning of the First World War, which depicts, in imitation of war-time recruitment posters, Lord Herbert Kitchener pointing his finger at the viewer. The accompanying inscription reads: "Your country needs you!" In 1914, Lord Kitchener became Secretary of State for War; in 1916, he drowned when HMS *Hampshire* struck a German mine. The Royal Mint explained its choice:

> This design was selected to mark the centenary of the start of the First World War because the poster has come to be strongly associated with the outbreak of the war and is recognized by much of the population. It is intended to highlight the Government propaganda campaign to conscript army volunteers at the start of the war.[1]

The design of the coin became controversial. A Welsh politician, Dai Lloyd, argued that the coin "epitomizes the blinkered mentality that sent millions to their deaths in the trenches."[2] Lloyd also claimed that the coin sends the wrong message to the Muslim community, since Kitchener had led the British in the massacre-like victory over the Sudanese at Omdurman in 1898.[3] Similarly, historian Sir Richard Evans wondered if it was right to put the emphasis on "patriotic mobilization." "We need to think more carefully and in a more grown-up way about the First World War," he said.[4] Evans was a supporter of the petition started by Sheffield Labour councilor Sioned-Mair Richards, who wanted to see Nurse Edith Cavell instead of Lord Kitchener on the coin. Cavell helped Allied soldiers escape from Belgium and was shot by the German firing squad. Her famous pronouncement, made shortly before her execution, was "Patriotism is not enough. I must have no hatred or bitterness towards anyone." The petition reached more than 110,000 signatures. Pip, 14, and Kit, 10, great-grandsons of Cavell's cousin, took an active role

in the promotion of the petition.[5] Another petition, which assembled more than 30,000 supporters, called for the removal of the coin featuring Lord Kitchener from circulation. Among the possible replacements that the signatories proposed were a poppy, the tomb of the unknown soldier, poet Wilfred Owen and Harry Patch, "the Last Fighting Tommy" (the last person with battlefield experience, who died in 2009).[6] In response to the upheaval, in 2014, the Royal Mint promised to issue a £5 coin featuring Edith Cavell.[7]

This example demonstrates, to quote Jean-Claude Schmitt, that "in their own way images operate choices, they play an active role, within their own remit, in the way memory *works*."[8] Clearly, representations of Lord Kitchener and Edith Cavell were much more than just that. Each of them encouraged the viewer to exercise their memory and to recall the First World War in a particular way: to simplify somewhat, as a patriotic struggle in the first case or as a senseless carnage in the second one. Moreover, the act of remembering a now distant war was not a sterile exercise, but part of the effort to define who the British are as a nation. After all, as many scholars have pointed out, "memory sites and memory practices" – such as the minting of commemorative coins – "are central loci for ongoing struggles over identity."[9] The heated nature of the debate and the involvement of politicians indicates that the memory of the First World War concerns not just the past, but also – in fact, much more so – the present and the future. The debate had to do much less with the events that took place a century ago than with the issues that touch the nerve today: first and foremost, the relationship between the state and the individual, but also social inequality, feminism, ethnic and religious minorities, the European Union, recent wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and even the tensions between the countries of the United Kingdom. The design of the coin mattered, because different people perceived it as both reflecting and defining shared beliefs, values, aspirations and anxieties of the users of the pound sterling.

Thus, no less than words, images participate in the creation of collective memory, which makes a selection of which elements of what has happened – or of what people believe has happened – should be pushed to the forefront and which into the background. One difference between words and images is that the latter tend to get to the point quicker. James Fentress and Chris Wickham underscored this characteristic in their *Social Memory*:

> Images can be transmitted socially only if they are conventionalized and simplified: conventionalized, because the image has to be meaningful for an entire group; simplified, because in order to be generally meaningful and capable of transmission, the complexity of the image must be reduced as far as possible.[10]

The images on the two commemorative coins are, indeed, saying a lot with little.

Since we are contemporaries of the creation of the image on the coins, and the written sources are plentiful, it is possible to reconstruct, at least to some degree, the context of this latest episode in the creation of memory of the First World War. When it comes to images responding to events in the distant past, which have

themselves been produced in the distant past, the task is obviously much more complicated. Still, if one examines the creation of the memory of the First World War and of the Crusades, two basic similarities emerge: diversity of perspectives and the existence of a connection between memory and identity.

The first half of this chapter will sketch out some of the different ways in which images both reflected and created the memory of Crusades. A comprehensive overview would probably include Ridley Scott's film *Kingdom of Heaven*, released in 2005, but the present one will not extend beyond the admittedly artificial cut-off date of 1291, the year of the fall of Acre. The second half of the chapter will examine the depictions of a single episode of the First Crusade: the miracle of the intervention of saints in battle. This miracle was depicted more frequently and in more types of media than any other episode of crusading history. I have located no fewer than 11 certain or near-certain depictions related to this episode that date from the twelfth, thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. If one takes into account two programs of mural paintings at Cressac and at Saint-Jacques-des-Guérets, where such identification of the subject matter is more problematic, the count increases to 13. Clearly, the miracle was one of the foundational myths of crusading. However, its representations reveal the diversity of meaning that the Crusades had to different people, the variety of uses to which the memory of Crusades could be put and the particular importance of visual culture as a communicator of memory.

While there are many written narratives of Crusades, especially of the First Crusade, there is no comparable abundance when it comes to images.[11] Extant representations of Crusades reflect the processes of "conventionalization" and "simplification" of memory discussed by Fentress and Wickham, quoted above. For example, a mid-thirteenth century ceramic tile from Chertsey Abbey, probably intended for a royal palace, represents the defeat of Saladin by King Richard Lionheart in a duel that, of course, never took place. The image stands for the confrontation between the two leaders during the Third Crusade and for the supposed chivalry of both of them.[12]

Monuments designed to commemorate returning crusaders form an even smaller group. Its boundaries are ill defined, since the interpretation of many representations is open to debate. One of such moments decorates the west façade of the Church of St-Adrien in Mailly-le-Château in Burgundy and represents Mahaut de Courtenay. Mahaut, the Countess of Nevers, Auxerre, and Tonnerre, was the daughter of Pierre de Courtenay, the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, and a participant, with her husband, in the Fifth Crusade. A large cross in Mahaut's left hand is most likely intended to remind the viewer of her crusading background.[13]

While the number of direct representations of Crusades or crusaders is scarce, there is a more substantial body of representations that were likely to have been intended to recall the Crusades through a conflation of different layers of memory. Once again, the boundaries of this group are blurred. One of the largest sub-groups has to do with representations, in whatever form, of Jerusalem and its key sites. Such representations were supposed to function as supports of what Mary Carruthers called "memory work."[14] This implied, first and foremost, contemplation of the events that had taken place during biblical times. However, it is likely that, after

1099, this "memory work" could extend to include the events that had taken place, in the very same locations, more recently.[15]

Another sub-group, closely related to and sometimes overlapping with the previous one, includes representations of the events from the lives of the Israelites, Christ and saints. It is likely that at least some of the representations, for example, of the struggle of the Israelites against their enemies was supposed to remind the viewer of the wars waged by crusaders against Muslims. For instance, given that crusaders were systematically compared to the Maccabees in the texts, a visual representation of the Maccabees was likely to have had invited the viewer to contemplate both biblical past and recent past.[16] Perhaps surprisingly, this layering of biblical and recent memory often affected both strata, so that, in some cases, the Israelites came to resemble crusaders and the enemies of the two grew to be identical. On a miniature from the so-called Arsenal Bible from the middle of the thirteenth century (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 5211, fol. 339r), Mattathias Maccabeus is represented killing a man dressed in a long white robe and a white turban, which anachronistically identify him as a Muslim.[17] To give another example, many of the chronicles of the sources of the First Crusade put great emphasis on the opening of the gates of Jerusalem at the time of its conquest by crusaders.[18] This supports the hypothesis that some of the representations of Christ's Entry to Jerusalem could be read not just as biblical narratives, but also as allusions to crusaders' triumph.[19]

A third sub-group involved non-biblical and (at least until the time of the Crusades) non-saintly heroes of the past. Soon after the First Crusade, there began a process that William J. Purkis called "retrospective appropriations of memory." Authors began to "project images and ideas associated with crusading onto cognate activities . . . that had taken place before 1095." As a consequence, in many written sources, Arthur, Roland and Charlemagne emerged having characteristics of crusaders.[20] Although there is little doubt that images participated in this development, the reconstruction of a convincing corpus is, yet again, fraught with difficulties. The identification of a particular image as depicting one of the heroes is often debatable; it is even a bigger challenge to establish that the image represents him as a proto-crusader. Linda Seidel has examined a particularly complicated case of the so-called Romanesque riders, a subject found frequently in twelfth-century sculpture of Aquitaine and sporadically elsewhere. Seidel suggested a solution to the argument of whether this or that rider represented Emperor Constantine, Charlemagne or a crusader by arguing for the possibility of "conflated identity": the same Rider could, theoretically, have represented all three at once.[21] We are then dealing here with the layering of the memory of not just two, but of several pasts.

To sum up, when it comes to crusader imagery, one often has to navigate between the Scylla of over-interpretation (seeing Crusades everywhere) and the Charybdis of under-interpretation (ignoring them entirely). However, it is clear that images participated in the same general trends of the creation of memory as texts, but did so in a different way.

Representations of the miracle of the intervention of saints in battle are rare examples of images where there is little doubt about their crusading roots. The *Gesta Francorum*, the earliest chronicle of the First Crusade, contains the following account of the miracle of supernatural intervention in the battle of Antioch, fought on June 28, 1098, several weeks after the city of Antioch was taken by crusaders:

> There also appeared from the mountains a countless host of men on white horses, whose banners were all white. When our men saw this, they did not understand what was happening or who these men might be, until they realized that this was the succor sent by Christ and that the leaders were St. George, St. Mercurius and St. Demetrius.[22]

As I have mentioned, there are at least 11, possibly as many as 13, extant images that are related to this episode.[23] I will discuss these images in chronological order before making some general conclusions about the lot.

(1) The three earliest representations of the miracle are found in the south of England. The parish church of St. Botolph in the village of Hardham (West Sussex) contains a program of paintings probably executed in the first decade of the twelfth century.[24] The lower register of the north wall is dedicated to St. George. The scene in the left corner represents the haloed saint, on horseback as he directs his lance, with a four-tailed pennant attached, at an enemy (Figure 4.1). The paintings have suffered from severe degradations, so only

FIGURE 4.1 St. George, Church of St. Botolph, Hardham

Source: © Elizabeth Lapina

a kite-shaped shield remains of the supposed Saracen. The space that he would have occupied is too small for an equestrian figure. However, it is possible that the paintings depicted him on a rearing or falling horse, since the kite-shield is too high for him to have been on foot. The representation would then be similar to a much later one at Clermont, to be discussed below. Another presumable Saracen sits, naked, on the ground between the two combatants. There is no evidence regarding either the identity of the donor or of any local interest in the First Crusade.

(2) The doorhead above the entryway to the church dedicated to St. George at Fordington (Dorset) contains a representation of the saint, identified as such by a halo, attacking an enemy with his lance adorned with a four-tailed pennant (Figure 4.2).[25] The three enemies form a heap of bodies on the ground. The lance enters the mouth of one of them, possibly indicating that he is being punished for blasphemy. The Saracens' shields are round and have bosses and *enarmes* (straps that allow the shields to hang from the warrior's neck).[26] Two knights in full armor, probably the donors of the sculpture, kneel to the left of St. George with their hands raised in supplication, while their shields and lances rest behind them. There are no clues regarding their identity.

(3) A third representation of the miracle in England is found in the church of St. George in Damerham (Hampshire) (Figure 4.3). The tympanum above the entryway shows the saint, on horseback, brandishing a sword. He might have had a halo, but the state of conservation makes it difficult to tell for

FIGURE 4.2 St. George and donors. Church of St. George, Fordington

Source: © Elizabeth Lapina

FIGURE 4.3 St. George. Church of St. George, Damerham

Source: © Elizabeth Lapina

sure. To the left of the saint, a Saracen, once again with a round and bossed shield, lies prostrate on the ground as the saint's horse raises its hoof above him. Simon Alford identified an enigmatic representation to the right of George as Hell's mouth.[27] According to Leslie Player, Henri de Blois (d. 1171), Bishop of Winchester and Abbot of Glastonbury, was likely to have commissioned the tympanum.[28]

(4) In the parish church of Saint-Julien at Poncé-sur-le-Loir (Sarthe), a representation of the battle of Antioch is, as at Hardham, part of a much larger program of mural paintings, which dates from the late 1170s. Three scenes, to be read from right to left, are dedicated to the battle of Antioch. The first (rightmost) scene represents a battle between crusaders and Saracens. One Saracen, identified as such, yet again, by his round shield, lies wounded or dead on the ground. The second (middle) scene depicts the miracle of the intervention of saints in battle. The scene is split into two: Saracens are depicted against white background, while the two Christian knights are depicted against dark background, which makes their white horses and white shields stand out. It is impossible to tell whether there has or has not been a third Christian knight, since part of the scene has not survived. The two extant knights have halos that identify them as saints. At least one of the Muslims is turning his

horse and beginning to flee. Once again, a corpse with a round shield next to him is lying on the ground. The third (left-most) image probably represents crusaders riding away in triumph. The church belonged to the canons of the Cathedral of Le Mans, but the circumstances of the commission are unknown. In contrast to the three English examples, in this case there is plenty of evidence of local involvement in crusading in general and the First Crusade in particular.

(5) The program of mural paintings in the chapel at Cressac (Charente), which belonged to the Knights Templar, probably dates to the turn of the thirteenth century.[29] On the extreme left of the upper register of the north wall, there is an image of a city surrounded by crenellated walls, in which one can distinguish a church identified by a tower surmounted by a cross. Mounted knights, whose armor is decorated with crosses, are departing from the city. The first knight, mounted on a white horse, is already charging at full speed (Figure 4.4). He has lowered his lance with three-tailed pennant decorated with a cross. His shield is also decorated with a cross and what looks like an eagle. The knight is pursuing a group of Saracen knights, identifiable by their rounded shields, who are retreating into a different city. One suggestion has been that the paintings represent the defeat of Nur al-Din in the battle of the Homs gap in September 1163. Two local noblemen led the Christian forces in the battle, and the Templars

FIGURE 4.4 A knight. Former Templar chapel, Cressac

Source: © Elizabeth Lapina

also played an important role. Paul Deschamps and, more recently, Christian Davy, however, identified the scene as representing the battle of Antioch. At the same time, Davy rejected the idea that the paintings might represent the intervention of saints in the battle of Antioch, since the knight on the white horse does not have a halo.[30] However, in two of the present case-studies – the Psalter of Saint-Bertin and the mural paintings of Clermont – St. George also does not have a halo, although his identity is beyond any doubt. If the knight is, indeed, St. George, he would have been depicted twice at Cressac: in the scene of intervention in battle and in another one, on the west wall, of combatting a dragon.

(6) The first illumination in the Psalter probably produced for the Abbey of Saint-Bertin contains a map of Jerusalem and its vicinities (the Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 76 F 5, fol. 1r) (Figure 4.5).[31] To the left of the city walls, there is a scene of the stoning of St. Stephen. Below the city walls, saints George and Demetrius – both without halos, but identified by inscriptions – pursue a group of Saracens, who, in this case, are indistinguishable from the Christians. The shield and the white pennant on the lance of St. George are both decorated with red crosses. The Psalter dates from the same period as the paintings of Cressac, i.e. the turn of the thirteenth century.

(7) In the late twelfth century, the priory church of Saint-Jacques-de-Guérets was decorated with an extensive program of mural paintings. Probably in the second half of the thirteenth century, a cavalcade of five knights, accompanied by inscriptions, was added on top of the existing paintings on the south wall of the nave. In 1890, Abbot Haugou deciphered the names of the first three knights as "S. Georgius," "Hugo" and "Mattheus" (Figure 4.6). According to the drawing made soon after the discovery, the supposed St. George had a cross on his helmet, a cross on his shield, a cross on the pennant attached to his lance, and two crosses on the caparison of his horse. St. George and the two knights behind him were destroyed to uncover earlier paintings underneath, so only the remains of the last two knights are visible today. Once again, there are no clues regarding the circumstances of the commission or the execution of these paintings.[32] The interpretation of this scene is hypothetical, since there is no possibility today to verify Abbot Haugou's reading of the inscriptions. However, assuming that the first knight was, indeed, St. George, the paintings clearly fit with the others on the present list. Similarly to other examples, here too the saint is leading knights into battle.

(8) A historiated initial in the breviary of Philip the Fair (Paris, BNF, MS Latin 1023, fol. 319v) depicts St. George as a knight, on horseback, entering a city (Figure 4.7). He has a halo, carries a lance and wears full armor. There is a red cross on George's white shield and there are two additional crosses on his horse's white caparison. Three soldiers, at least one of them mounted, stand next to a catapult to the left of the saint. As Esther Dehoux has argued, the city that George is entering must be Jerusalem, since, on medieval manuscripts, no other

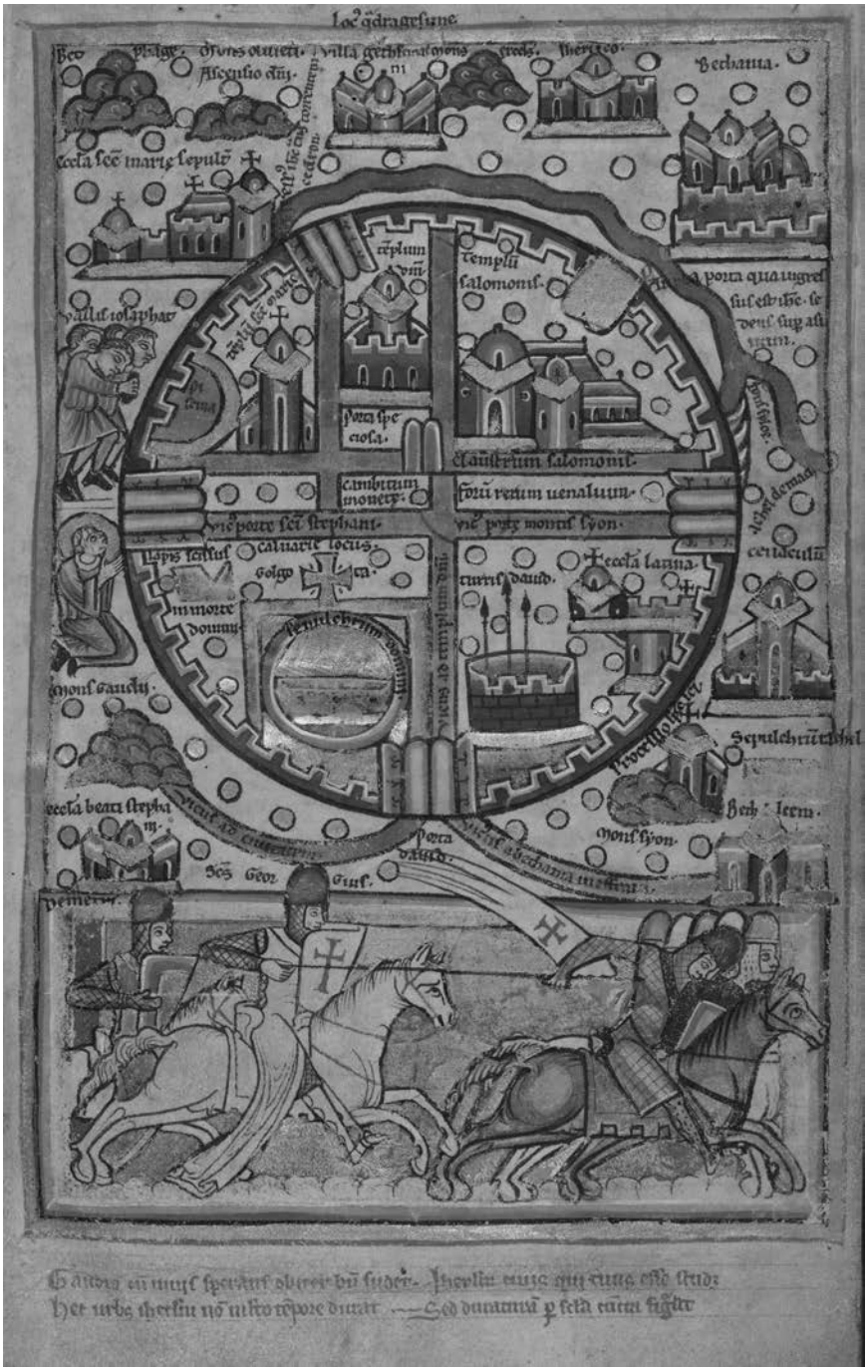

FIGURE 4.5 Map of Jerusalem. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 76 F 5, folio 1r

Source: © The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek

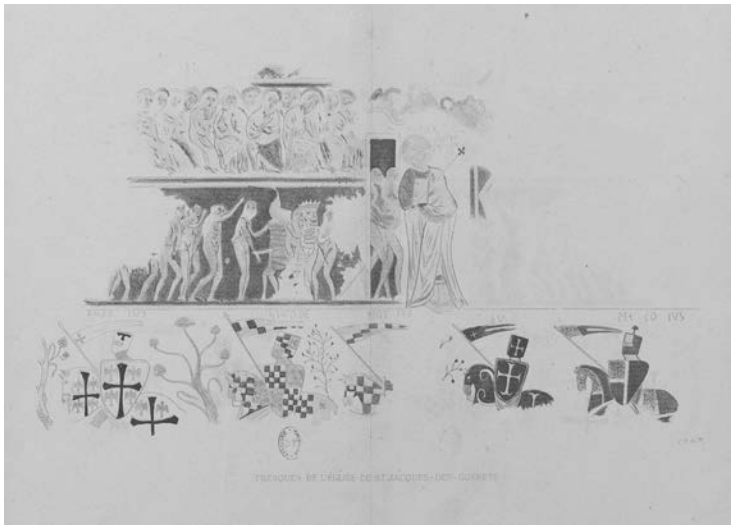

FIGURE 4.6 The Last Judgment and a cavalcade of knights. Church of Saint-Jacques-de-Guérets (drawing: Abbé Haugou, "Rapport sur la découverte de peintures murales dans l'église de Saint-Jacques-des-Guérets," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique, scientifique et littéraire du Vendômois* (1890) 303–13)

Source: Bulletin de la Société archéologique, scientifique et littéraire du Vendômois

FIGURE 4.7 St. George entering Jerusalem. Breviary of Philip the Fair. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS latin 1023, folio 319v

Source: © Bibliothèque Nationale de France

city was represented as besieged, but not defended. The breviary was executed in Paris between 1290 and 1295 and was likely to have been commissioned by a monastic patron for King Philip IV of France.[33]

(9) The north wall of the chapel of St. George in the Cathedral of Clermont is decorated with paintings divided into two registers (Figure 4.8). The top register is dedicated to the martyrdom of St. George, while the lower one depicts him battling against Saracens. As at Hardham, the representation of the immediate opponent of St. George is in a poor state of conservation. Only his round shield and part of the back of his falling or rearing horse remain. Behind him, another Saracen rides in the direction of St. George, while three others have turned their horses and are fleeing. St. George appears to have been followed by other knights, but only their lances are still visible. The paintings date to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries. Although there is no evidence regarding their patron, Clermont had numerous connections with crusading.[34]

(10) Martine Meuwese has identified representations of the intervention of St. George in battle in two vernacular manuscripts.[35] Jacob van Maerlant's *Spiegel Historiael* (*Mirror of History*), written in Middle Dutch in the 1280s, is a world chronicle that covers the period from the Creation to 1113.[36] It was based on Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale* and, for the First Crusade, on Albert of Aachen's *Historia Hierosolomytanae expeditionis*. The sole illuminated manuscript of *Spiegel Historiael* was most probably produced in Ghent and dates

FIGURE 4.8 Martyrdom of St. George and intervention of St. George in battle. The chapel of St. George, Cathedral of Clermont

Source: © Elizabeth Lapina

FIGURE 4.9 Siege of Jerusalem. Jacob van Maerlant, *Spiegel Historiael*. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, KA XX, folio 255r

Source: © The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek

from the early fourteenth century. The final miniature of the manuscript (the Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, KA XX, fol. 255r) shows the siege of Jerusalem (Figure 4.9). In the center, a knight, with a drawn sword, climbs a ladder propped up against the wall of the city, while another knight is breaching the wall with a pickaxe. On the right, a siege tower with three knights is placed next to the walls. One knight climbs out of the tower on the wall; another knight leaves the tower to attack the gates of the city with a pickaxe; a third knight awaits his turn inside. A knight, holding a sword in his right hand, with a cross on his white shield and his armor stands to the left. The halo indicates that this is most probably St. George. A crowd of knights, without halos, stands behind him.

(11) Three other representations of St. George originally belonged to the same manuscript of a *Prose Lancelot* cycle, although they are now found in different collections. The manuscript is written in the Picard dialect and probably dates from 1316.[37] It was most likely to have been produced in either St.-Omer of Thérouanne, but there is no evidence concerning the possible patron.[38] An illumination in the *Estoire del Saint Graal*, the first volume of the cycle (formerly in Amsterdam, Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, 1 vol. 1, fol. 30r, now in a private collection) (Figure 4.10), contains a representation of a saint, on horseback, spearing a crown-wearing enemy, who is still sitting in the saddle of his

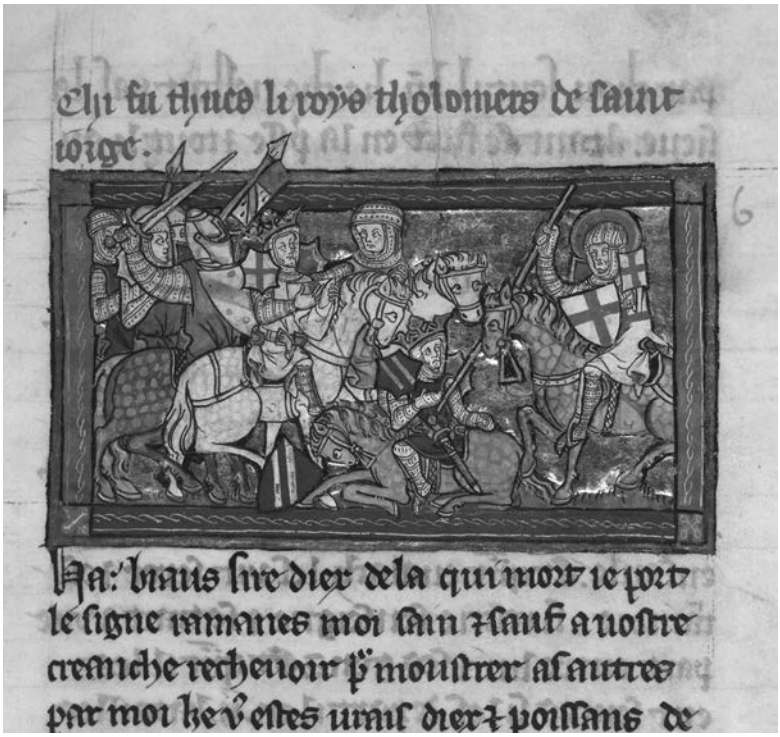

FIGURE 4.10 White Knight defeats King Tholomer. *Estoire del Saint Graal*. Formerly in Amsterdam, Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, 1 vol. 1, fol. 30r, now in a private collection

Source: © Lancelot-Grail Project

horse that has collapsed on the ground. The saint has a halo and both his shield and his armor are decorated with crosses. This miniature illustrates the moment in *Estoire* when a White Knight came to the rescue of King Evalach against King Tholomer. The still legible instructions to the painter and a rubric added to the miniature (*Chi fu thues li roys Tholomers de saint Jorge*) after it had been completed identify the White Knight as St. George.

The *Queste del Saint Graal*, the fifth volume of the cycle, contains two more depictions of the White Knight assimilated to St. George (Manchester, Rylands French 1, fol. 188 and 188v). On the first of those, St. George defeats King Baudemagu (Figure 4.11). On the second, he delivers a shield to Galahad and explains its significance. The saint also has a halo and several crosses on his armor and his horse's caparison. The rubric identifies him as St. George (although the surviving portion of the instructions to the painter does not).

Six tentative conclusions can be drawn from this overview. First, representations of the miracle of intervention of a saint in or in connection to warfare were not

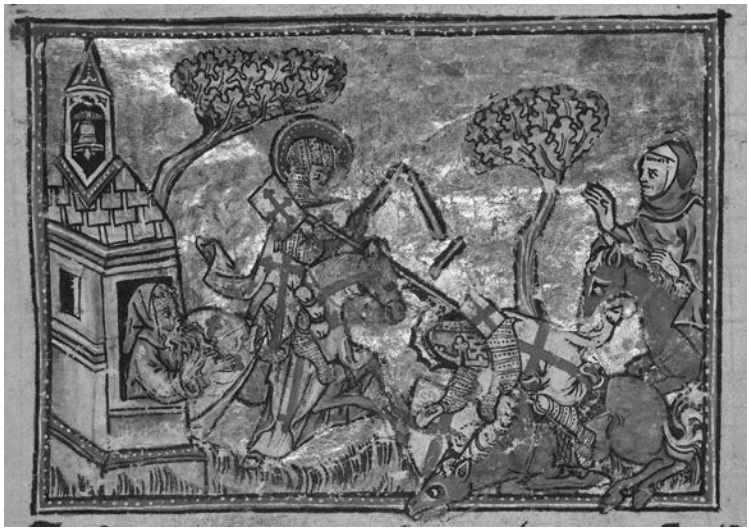

FIGURE 4.11 White Knight defeats King Baudemagu. *La Queste del saint Graal*. Manchester, Rylands French 1, fol. 188

Source: © University of Manchester

distributed evenly, but enjoyed a particular popularity in select regions. The English examples (Hardham, Fordington and Damerham) are found within a hundred miles of each other. Poncé-sur-le-Loir is located fewer than ten miles from Saint-Jacques-des-Guérets. The manuscripts of Jacob van Maerlant's *Spiegel Historiael* and of *Prose Lancelot* were likely to have been produced in relatively close proximity of each other. Because the sources are so few, all explanations of this clustering can only be tentative. Conscious imitation of earlier works produced in the same region is one option. Other possible reasons include an especially important investment in Crusades or a particularly strong cult of St. George.

Second, in contrast to the account in the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*, which describes the intervention of three saints, Demetrius, Theodore and George, the vast majority of images feature just one saint, who is or can be plausibly identified as George. One exception, the illumination from the Psalter of Saint-Bertin, represents saints George and Demetrius. Another exception, the mural paintings of Poncé, originally depicted either two or three unidentified saints. This latter exception could be explained by the fact that the Cathedral of Le Mans, to which the church of Poncé belonged, contained the relics of St. Demetrius.[39] One of the reasons why George is singled out in the vast majority of cases could be simply that remembering one saint was easier than remembering three. Another factor was that George was much more familiar in the West before the First Crusade than Demetrius or Theodore. Visual evidence reflects general trends in the cults of the three saints after the First Crusade. The fame of George increased exponentially, and he eventually became the patron saint of crusading. The rare narratives of celestial interventions

associated with any crusade other than the first tend to single him out.[40] In contrast, attempts to adopt Demetrius and Theodore in the West were largely unsuccessful.

Third, in the three cases where the location of the miracle is identifiable, it is not Antioch, but Jerusalem. This corresponds to some of the written sources that also locate the intervention of a saint at Jerusalem. Raymond of Aguilers, a participant of the First Crusade, wrote in his chronicle that, during a particularly difficult moment of the siege of the city, the crusade's leaders considered withdrawing their badly damaged siege engines. At that moment, a knight whose name Raymond did not know, "signaled with his shield from the Mount of Olives to the Count [Raymond of Toulouse] and others to move forward."[41] William of Tyre, the author of *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, offers a similar account.[42] Two of the illuminations discussed above appear to come close to these textual descriptions in that they prominently feature siege engines (a catapult in the case of the breviary of Philip the Fair; a siege tower in the case of Jacob van Maerlant's *Spiegel Historiael*). Although neither Raymond, nor William identifies the knight, later authors do. For instance, Jacobus de Voragine in his *Legenda aurea*, written about 1260, described that when crusaders laid siege to Jerusalem, "they did not dare mount the scaling ladders in the face of the Saracens' resistance; but Saint George appeared to them wearing white armor marked with the red cross, and made them understand that they could follow him up the walls in safety and the city would be theirs."[43]

There are several possible explanations for why Jerusalem appears in three of the visual sources and Antioch in none. It is conceivable that the large number of textual sources that associate the miracle with Antioch is misleading and that, from the start, the oral tradition, according to which supernatural intervention took place during the siege of Jerusalem, was particularly strong. It is more likely, however, that the "simplification" of memory once again came into play. Antioch surpassed Jerusalem only when it came to the amount of suffering endured by crusaders there. Otherwise, the importance of Antioch – a city that few Latin Christians would have probably even heard of before the First Crusade – was incommensurate to that of Jerusalem, the goal of the First Crusade and the focus of anxieties and aspirations for the rest of the crusading era. The narrative of saints' intervention fit nicely with the beliefs that Jerusalem had been conquered with God's help and that, after its fall in 1187, it would be re-conquered with God's help once again. The illuminated manuscript of Jacob van Maerlant's *Spiegel Historiael* reveals that the two representations of the miracle could co-exist in one source. The text records supernatural intervention in conjunction to the Battle of Antioch. The image, however, depicts the miracle taking place at the walls of Jerusalem.[44] For the artist and/or the designer, associating the miracle with Jerusalem instead of Antioch made better sense to such a degree that they were willing to go against the text that they were illustrating.[45]

Illuminations in two other manuscripts make explicit some of the reasons why Jerusalem "worked better" than Antioch. The illumination from the Psalter of Saint-Bertin not only depicts the miracle beneath the map of Jerusalem, but establishes a connection between it and the Holy Sepulcher. It is hardly by accident that

the artist depicted these two details – the miracle and the Holy Sepulcher – against the same gold-leaf background and within the same red-and-green frame. The message appears to be that the saints not only chase Muslims out of the city, but, in doing so, they purify its holiest site.[46]

An illumination from another manuscript, a Psalter-Hours (Liège, Bibliothèque de l'Université MS. 431, 9v) (Figure 4.12), made in Liège around 1285–1290,

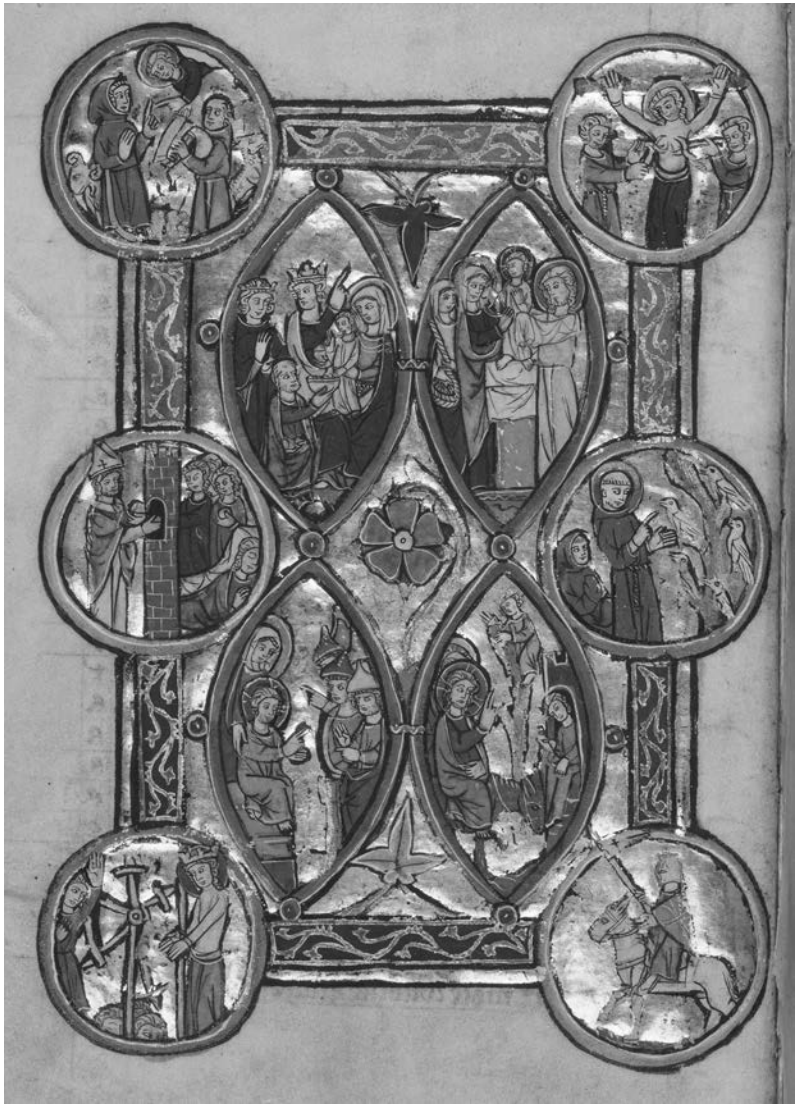

FIGURE 4.12 Scenes from the life of Christ surrounded by scenes from the lives of Saints. Liége, Bibliothèque de l'Université, MS 431, 9v

Source: © Liége, Bibliothèque de l'Université

features four events from the life of Christ, which are surrounded by six roundels with events from the lives of saints. There was a clear intent to invite parallels between the two types of representations. For instance, there are obvious compositional similarities between Christ Child Teaching in the Temple and St. Francis preaching of the birds. More importantly for the present discussion, there is an obvious "match" between Christ entering Jerusalem and the roundel below, which depicts St. George, mounted on a horse, holding a red shield with a cross on it and a lance with a white pennant on which there is another cross. He is not engaged in any battle or siege. Still, a sophisticated viewer was probably expected to understand that the saint is depicted here as a crusader, who has imitated Christ by entering Jerusalem in triumph during the First Crusade and, perhaps, who is likely to do so again in the future.[47] While Jerusalem had a plethora of associations with Christ, Antioch had none.

Fourth, several of the images make it clear that the miracle of the intervention of saints had (or could easily acquire) eschatological overtones. In fact, an interest in eschatology might explain some of the developments in the memory of the miracle discussed above, such as the emphasis on a single saint at the expense of several. A representation of a lone saint closer resembled the description of a single rider leading a celestial army in Revelation 19:11–16. Beginning in Late Antiquity, the rider was routinely interpreted as Christ. So, it is possible that solitary equestrian figures at, for example, Hardham were supposed to remind the viewer of Christ as a military leader.[48]

It is then hardly accidental that in at least two cases, at Hardham and Poncé, the miracle adjoins the wall with a representation of the Last Judgment. In the last of the three scenes dedicated to the interface of Christians and Muslims at Poncé, crusaders can be seen as riding toward the scene of an angel presenting the souls of the blessed to St. Peter. It might be possible that a similar desire to inscribe the miracle into an eschatological context was behind the placement of the cavalcade in the church of Saint-Jacques-les-Guérets. The drawing that accompanies Abbé Haugou's report on the discovery of the paintings might or might not correspond to the way that the south wall looked at some point in the thirteenth century. If it does, then the representation of St. George and accompanying knights was added immediately below that of the Last Judgment. The miracle of intervention of saints in battle then clearly emerges as a prototype of the apocalyptic battle to come.

The eschatological significance of Jerusalem might explain the preference for the city over Antioch. The placement of representations of the siege of Jerusalem within two of the manuscripts might be significant. In the Psalter of Saint-Bertin, the miracle appears on the *first* illumination of the manuscript underneath the map of Jerusalem. In the manuscript of Jacob van Maerlant's *Spiegel Historiael*, the miracle appears on the *last* illumination as part of the scene of the capture of Jerusalem, even though the narrative continues for another year or so. In both cases, Jerusalem emerges as a city with a key role in the design of Sacred History, "the apocalyptic city *par excellence*."[49]

Fifth, two programs of mural paintings – one at Hardham and another at Clermont – represent the miracle of the intervention of George in battle either immediately below or immediately adjoining the saint's martyrdom. Two of the illuminations under discussion also make a connection, albeit less obviously, between the miracle and martyrdom. In the breviary of Philip the Fair, 55 out of 66 representations of martyrs – 83 percent – feature their execution. The majority of the remaining nine depict episodes that have something to do with their death or burial, such as, for example, the discovery of the body.[50] In this case then, the representation of the miracle of intervention of St. George in the siege of Jerusalem, at least to some extent, replaces that of his martyrdom. Similarly, the illumination from the Psalter of Saint-Bertin also appears to draw a parallel between the death of St. Stephen and the intervention of saints in battle, as these are the only two events depicted on the page. In these four cases then, engaging in violence becomes analogous to suffering violence.

This idea has parallels in written sources. For example, the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* ends its account of the siege of Nicaea with the following words: "Many of our men suffered martyrdom there and gave up their blessed souls to God with joy and gladness . . . All these entered Heaven in triumph, wearing the robe of martyrdom which they have received."[51] One did not have to die to merit a comparison with a martyr. Immediately before a gory scene of crusaders pursuing the "infidels," Guibert of Nogent, another chronicle of the First Crusade, explains its meaning: "I do not say they [crusaders] were as brave as lions, but, what is more fitting, brave as martyrs."[52] This implies that, at least for some, the miracle implied a radical rehabilitation of knightly profession, which – as an example of extreme suffering undertaken for God – could emerge as not only sinless, but salvific. Although this rehabilitation came into being in the context of Crusades, it could potentially spread to other wars that could be represented as having God's approval. Clearly, one group was particularly interested in this interpretation of the miracle of the intervention of saints in battle: the knights.

Sixth, although the circumstances of the commissioning of the majority of the works are utterly unknown, different groups had an interest in perpetuating the memory of the intervention of saints in battle. The Psalter of Saint-Bertin and the breviary of Philip the Fair give an indication of an awareness of the miracle in monastic circles. However, the miracle appealed no less – probably more – to knights than to monks. Two knights on the tympanum of Fordington are, in all probability, the donors of the sculpture. The paintings at Saint-Jacques-des-Guérets were likely have been commissioned by one of these knights riding behind St. George or by this knight's family. The illuminations in Jacob van Maerlant's *Spiegel Historiael* and *Prose Lancelot* demonstrate that, in the early fourteenth century, the miracle of intervention of St. George in battle entered the realm of vernacular literature. In the *Prose Lancelot*, moreover, the miracle became entirely separated from the crusading context.[53] So, it seems that, at least in some cases, the memory of the miracle might have had to do with the definition of collective identity not just of Latin Christians, but also of one of its segments in particular, the *bellatores*.

In conclusion, during the centenary of the beginning the First World War, the British struggled with the decision of whom or what to feature on their commemorative coins. Similarly, as they depicted the miracle of intervention of a saint or saints in battle, medieval men and women also had to make some crucial choices. They had to decide the location of the miracle, the number of saints involved and the context in which to place each representation. Their decisions depended on the reasons why they wanted the miracle remembered in the first place. As the debates about the coins had to do more with the agendas of 2014 than those of 1914, so the choices made in the case-studies outlined in the present chapter also had to do with the issues that mattered, first and foremost, at the moment of the execution of each image. The issues seem to have included a desire to believe that God would protect the faithful in dire straits and punish evil in whatever shape or form; an anxiety about the terrestrial city of Jerusalem, heightened by its loss in 1187 and the loss of Acre in 1291; a conviction that fighting could be, if conditions were right, an occupation worthy of a saint; and a fascination with the apocalyptic battle, of which the miracle was seen to be a prototype.

As I have mentioned above, there are relatively few visual sources that represent Crusades, but quite a few that allude to them, usually via depictions of other events from biblical or post-biblical history. Many of the images examined here, all of which derive from episodes described in the chronicles of the First Crusade, reveal a similar layering of memory. They effortlessly bridge the gap between the time of persecutions of early Christian martyrs or the mythical age of Arthur's Round Table and the crusading era. At the same time, they also reveal that it was not the past or, rather, multiple pasts that mattered most, but the present and the (apocalyptic) future.

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Notes

1 The Royal Mint, accessed March 11, 2015, www.royalmint.com/shop/The_100th_Anniversary_of_the_First_World_War_Outbreak_2014_UK_2_pound_Brilliant_Uncirculated_Coin.

2 WalesOnLine, "World War One Commemorative Coin Featuring Lord Kitchener 'Offensive,'" accessed March 11, 2015, www.walesonline.co.uk/news/wales-news/world-war-one-commemorative-coin-6505494.

3 David Powell, "World War I Coin Should be Scrapped Says Plaid Assembly Candidate," *Daily Post*, January 15, 2014, accessed March 11, 2015, www.dailypost.co.uk/news/north-wales-news/world-war-coin-should-scrapped-6509865. The rest of Kitchener's career contained other questionable moments as well, such as the use of scorched-earth warfare and of concentration camps during the Anglo-Boer war.

4 Hannah Wilkinson and James Sutton, "WWI Coin 'Inappropriate' and Gove is a 'Donkey', says Cambridge Academic," *Varsity*, January 22, 2014, accessed March 11, 2015, www.varsity.co.uk/news/6728.
5 Sioned-Mair Richards, "Petitioning Her Majesty's Treasury. The British Treasury: Issue a £2 Coin with the Face of Edith Cavell on it," accessed March 11, 2015, www.change.org/p/the-british-treasury-issue-a-2-coin-with-the-face-of-edith-cavell-on-it.
6 Symon Hill, "Petitioning Royal Mint: Replace the Kitchener £2 Coin with One that Truly Commemorates the Millions who Died in the First World War," accessed March 11, 2015, www.change.org/p/royal-mint-replace-the-kitchener-2-coin-with-one-that-truly-commemorates-the-millions-who-died-in-the-first-world-war.
7 Gov.uk. "Edith Cavell to Feature on £5 Commemorative Coin," accessed March 11, 2015, www.gov.uk/government/news/edith-cavell-to-feature-on-5-commemorative-coin.
8 Jean-Claude Schmitt, "Images and the Work of Memory, with Special Reference to the Sixth-Century Mosaics of Ravenna, Italy," in *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval Culture*, edited by Elma Brenner, Meredith Cohen and Mary Franklin-Brown (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 21.
9 Jeffrey K. Olick and Joyce Robbins, "Social Memory Studies: From 'Collective Memory' to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices," *Annual Review of Sociology* (1998): 126.
10 James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 47–8.
11 For a good, although somewhat out-of-date, overview of crusader imagery see Colin Morris, "Picturing the Crusades: The Uses of Visual Propaganda, c. 1095–1250," in *The Crusades and their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, edited by J. France and W.G. Zajac (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 195–216. On illuminated manuscripts of William of Tyre's *History of Outremer* see Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275–1291* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).
12 Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski, eds., *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200–1400* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1987), no. 16.
13 Both for an overview on the subject and for the façade of the Church of St-Adrien specifically see Nurith Kenaan-Kedar, "Pictorial and Sculptural Commemoration of Returning or Departing Crusaders," in *The Crusades and Visual Culture*, edited by Elizabeth Lapina, April Morris, Susanna Throop and Laura Whatley (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 91–104.
14 Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
15 See, for example, Maria Georgopoulou, "Orientalism and Crusader Art: Constructing a New Canon," *Medieval Encounters* 5, no. 3 (1999): 289–321.
16 For Maccabees in textual sources see Elizabeth Lapina, *Warfare and the Miraculous in the Chronicles of the First Crusade* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015); Nicholas Morton, "The Defense of the Holy Land and the Memory of the Maccabees," *Journal of Medieval History* 36 (2010): 275–93. For a representation of the Maccabees interpreted in the context of Crusades see Matthew M. Reeve, "The Painted Chamber at Westminster, Edward I and the Crusade," *Viator* 37 (2006): 189–221.
17 Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 143.
18 Nicholas Paul, "*Porta clausa*: Trial and Triumph at the Gates of Jerusalem," in *Writing the Early Crusades: Text, Transmission and Memory*, edited by Marcus Bull and Damien Kempf (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2014), 89–104.
19 Anne Derbes, "A Crusading Fresco Cycle at the Cathedral of Le Puy," *Art Bulletin* 73, no. 4 (1991): 561–76.
20 William J. Purkis, "Rewriting the History Books: the First Crusade and the Past," in *Writing the Early Crusades*, 114.
21 Linda Seidel, "Constantine 'and' Charlemagne," *Gesta* 15, no. 1/2 (1976): 237–9.
22 *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum. The Deeds of the Franks and the other Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, edited and translated by Rosalind M.T. Hill (London: Nelson, 1962), 69. For a discussion of this miracle see Lapina, *Warfare and the Miraculous*.

23 The corpus must represent a small fraction of works produced. This is even more likely given the fact that there are no extant images to match several written references to representations of the First Crusade, which, of course, might or might not have contained representations of the miracle. We know that King Henry III of England ordered to have "Antioch chambers" painted in four of his residences: at Westminster, Winchester, Clarendon and the Tower of London (Martine Meuwese, "Antioch and the Crusaders in Western Art," in *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean: Antioch from the Byzantine Reconquest until the End of Crusader Principality* edited by K. Ciggaar and M. Metcalf (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 351–2). Also, according to the *Chronicle of Morea*, Nicolas de Saint-Omer decorated the walls of his castle in Thebes with "murals depicting how the Franks conquered Syria" (*Crusaders as Conquerors: The Chronicle of Morea*, translated by Harold E. Lurier (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1964), 298).
24 On the program see David Park, "The 'Lewes Group' of Wall Paintings in Sussex," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 6 (1984): 200–37.
25 On this sculpture see Simon Alford. "Romanesque Architectural Sculpture in Dorset: A Selective Catalogue and Commentary," *Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society Proceedings* 106 (1984): 1–22.
26 Round and bossed shields are to become standard in depictions of Saracens (see Fanny Caroff, "Différencier, caractériser, avertir: les armoires imaginaires attribuées au monde musulman," *Médiévales* 38 (2000): 137–47).
27 Alford, "Romanesque Architectural Sculpture in Dorset," 5.
28 Personal e-mail from June 12, 2013.
29 For most recent discussions of the program see Gaetano Curzi, *La pittura dei Templari* (Milan: Silvana, 2002); Christian Davy, "Les peintures murales romanes de la chapelle des Templiers de Cressac," *Congrès archéologique de France. Charente* 153 (1999): 171–7.
30 Paul Deschamps, "La légende de St. Georges et les combats des croisés dans le Moyen Age," *Monuments et Mémoires publiés pour l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Fondation Eugène Piot* 44 (1950): 121–2; Davy, "Peintures murales romanes de la chapelle des templiers de Cressac," 173–4.
31 Maurits Smeyers, *L'Art de la Miniature Flamande* (Tournai: Renaissance du Livre, 1998), 75–6.
32 On the paintings see Deschamps, "Légende de Saint George," 117; Abbé Haugou, "Rapport sur la découverte de peintures murales dans l'église de Saint-Jacques-des-Guérets," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique, scientifique et littéraire du Vendômois* (1890): 303–13.
33 On this image see Esther Dehoux, "'If I forget you, O Jerusalem . . .': King Philip the Fair, St. George, and Crusade," *Crusades and Visual Culture,* 105–15.
34 For example, Bishop Hugues of Clermont died while on crusade in Egypt in 1249. On the paintings see Marie Charbonnel, Materialibus ad immaterialia. *Peinture murale et piété dans les anciens diocèses de Clermont, du Puy et de Saint-Flour du XIIe au XVe siècle* (Ph.D. thesis, Université Clermont-Ferrand II, 2012), 142–3; Anne Courtillé, *La cathédrale de Clermont* (Nonette: Créer, 1994), 173–4.
35 Both of these manuscripts are discussed in Meuwese, "Antioch and the Crusaders in Western Art," 337–55.
36 On Jacob van Maerlant see Geert H.M. Claassens, "Jacob van Maerlant on Muhammad and Islam," *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam: A Book of Essays*, edited by John Victor Tolan (New York and London: Garland, 1996), 211–42; Martine Meuwese, "Jacob van Maerlant's *Spiegel Historiael*: Iconography and Workshop," in *Flanders in a European Perspective: Manuscript Illumination around 1400 in Flanders and Abroad*, edited by Maurits Smeyers and Bert Cardon (Leuven: Peeters, 1995), 445–56. I would like to thank Geert H.M. Claassens for his help with this source.
37 On this manuscript see Martine Meuwese, "Three Illustrated *Prose Lancelots* from the same Atelier," *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 81, no. 3 (1999): 97–125; Martine Meuwese, "Inaccurate Instructions and Incorrect Interpretations: Errors and Deliberate Discrepancies in Illustrated *Prose Lancelot* Manuscripts," *Bibliographical Bulletin of the International Arthurian Society* 54 (2002): 319–44.

38 Alison Stones, "Another Short Note on Rylands French 1," *Romanesque and Gothic: Essays for George Zarnecki* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1987), 189.
39 *Actus pontificum Cenomannis in urbe degentium*, edited by G. Busson and A. Ledru (Le Mans: Société des archives historiques du Maine, 1901), 418.
40 According to Ernoul, St. George was instrumental to crusaders' victory in the battle of Montgisard, fought against Saladin on November 25, 1177 (*Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, edited by M.L. de Mas Latrie, 43. Paris, 1871). The *Chronicle of Morea* reports a similar episode in the Battle of Prinitza, fought between the Franks and the Byzantines in 1263: "Some of those who took part in the battle saw and testified that they saw a knight mounted on a white charger, carrying a naked sword and always leading the way wherever the Franks were. And they said and affirmed that it was St. George and that he guided the Franks and gave them courage to fight" (*Crusaders as Conquerors*, 211).
41 Raymond of Aguilers. *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, translated by John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1968), 127; Raymond of Aguilers, *Le "Liber" de Raymond d'Aguilers*, edited by John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1969), 149–50.
42 William of Tyre, *Chronique*, edited by R.B.C. Huygens, CCCM (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986) vol. 63, 407.
43 Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, translated by William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), vol. 1, 242.
44 This observation is found in Meuwese, "Jacob van Maerlant's *Spiegel Historiael*," 346.
45 One puzzling detail of this image is the presence of a river. While Jerusalem does not have a river next to it, Antioch does (the Orontes). However, this cannot be Antioch, since crusaders took it by stealth, not by storm, and there was no report of any saint intervening at that moment. One explanation is this is a composite image of Jerusalem and Antioch. Another is that the river is supposed to be Jordan. A third is that this is an allusion to the Prophecy of Ezekiel that describes a spring flowing from the Temple of Jerusalem (47:1–13). Finally, a fourth possible explanation is that the designer or the artist consciously or unconsciously made Jerusalem resemble Ghent, where he was working. Whatever the case might be, it seems that representing a river next to the wall of Jerusalem was common in Northern Europe in the first half of the fourteenth century. For two more examples see Claudine A. Chavannes-Mazel, "The Jerusalem Miniatures in Maerlant's Rijmbijbel 10 B 21 and in the Hornby Book of Hours: Questions of Context and Meaning," *Quaerendo* 41, no. 1–2 (2011): 139–54. These hypotheses and the last reference are not mine, but those of my friends and colleagues too numerous to list who have taken the time to discuss this matter with me on Facebook, for which I am very grateful.
46 On Crusades as purification see Penny J. Cole, "'O God, the Heathen have Come into Your Inheritance' (PS. 78.1). The Theme of Religious Pollution in Crusade Documents, 1095–1188," in *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, edited by Maya Shatzmiller (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 84–111.
47 This manuscript is mentioned in Meuwese, "Inaccurate Instructions," 328. See also Judith H. Oliver, *Gothic Manuscript Illumination in the Diocese of Liège (c. 1250–c.1330)* (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1988), vol. 1, 49; vol. 2, 260.
48 Conversely, it is possible that some representations of Christ contained allusions to the miracle of intervention of saints in the course of the First Crusade. This is the argument that Don Denny made in relation to a representation of Christ mounted on a white horse in the crypt of Auxerre Cathedral, which he dates to ca. 1100 (Don Denny, "A Romanesque Fresco in Auxerre Cathedral," *Gesta* (1986): 200). See also an illumination in the Apocalypse made in Bruges around 1320 (Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale Albert-I^{er}, ms II 282, fol. 48v; color image in Smeyers, *Art de la Miniature Flamande*, 144).
49 Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099–1187)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 149.
50 Dehoux, "King Philip the Fair, St. George, and Crusade."
51 *Gesta Francorum*, 16–17.

52 Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds of God Through the Franks*, translated by Robert Levine (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997), 64; Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, edited by R.B.C. Huygens. CCCM, vol. 127A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), 157.

53 As Alison Stones put it, "Saint Georges est devenu le type non seulement du chevalier chrétien et croisé, mais aussi du bon chevalier" ("Les débuts de l'héraldique dans l'illustration des romans arthuriens," in *Les armoriaux médiévaux*, edited by Louis Holtz, Michel Pastoreau and Hélène Loyau (Paris: le Léopard d'or, 1997), 403).

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5

REMEMBRANCE OF THINGS PAST

Memory and material objects in the time of the Crusades, 1095–1291

Anne E. Lester

> Signs are small measurable things, but interpretations are illimitable.
>
> *George Eliot,* Middlemarch

> You receive a soft and gentle cross; he bore one that was sharp and hard. You wear it superficially on your clothing; he endured it truly in his flesh. You sew yours on with linen and silk threads; he was nailed to his with iron and nails.
>
> *Pope Innocent III, Letter to Leopold of Austria, 1208*

The lives of things

Hanging above the altar of the Holy Sacrament in the cathedral of St.-Bertrand de Cummings one could once view the body of a stuffed crocodile. Part offering, part memento, part relic; a symbol of another place. It is an odd object to have above the altar, the location of the commemoration of Christ's passion and resurrection in the Mass. In the late-nineteenth century, some believed the crocodile to have been brought back to the small Pyrenees town by a returning crusader, perhaps offered as a sign of thanks for a safe passage, as token of victory (however fleeting) on the Nile.[1] A similar act of crusader adornment was once visible on the walls of the "tower of Gouffier" in the castle of Pompadour, the stronghold of the lords of Lastours in central France. Writing in 1183, Geoffrey, a prior of the Benedictine house of Vigeois, near Limoges, described how "'the walls of the tower were more beautifully decorated than was customary' because of certain 'cloth-hangings' (*pallia*) that a 'prince' of Lastours had brought back from Jerusalem."[2] Cloth, whose warp and weft were made of fibers new to the European touch, including linens and damask, silks from Limassol and camelin from Acre, was one of the most common items to return with crusaders from the East.[3]

Was there something that touch could evoke that triggered sensory pathways to memory? Jean de Joinville, the companion and friend of of the French king, Louis IX,

devoted considerable time to describing the objects he carried from the East after his crusade expedition of 1248: His uncle's shield, which he installed in his familial chapel of St.-Laurent; bolts of camelin cloth; amber and crystal from the Man of the Mountain; and the fossil of a fish, finely preserved within a flake of limestone.[4] These were ordinary objects made sacred. These materials traveled with the countless fragments of the holy, which found their way into the chapels, cathedrals, monastic treasuries, and tombs of crusaders and their kin. So, we hear from the family chronicle of the Lords of Guines and Ardres that, as Lord Arnold the Old lay dying from a long-term illness, he "had a little cross he had brought back from the Lord's tomb bought to him and hung around his neck by a slender silver chain."[5] As the chronicler explained, Arnold

> believed that in it was hidden one hair from the beard of the Lord. . . . With his friends and family standing around him, he clasped the little cross in his hands. Giving it veneration with the kiss of peace and saying farewell to all, he fell asleep in the Lord and left the world.[6]

To take notice of things, of objects imbedded in the many sources for the Crusades, is to come to understand how deeply entwined the material was with memory and practices of remembrance.[7] Scholars of the classical past as well as medievalists have identified this approach as "an archaeology of the past," which shed light on the process of memory and its creation and practice both individually and collectively.[8] In some cases, objects and materials have survived and remain extant in church treasuries and museum or private collections. Far more often, however, things must be recovered and interpreted through the material imprint left in the textual record, through a process of "documentary archaeology."[9] Recent work on materiality and its analysis and meaning suggests that its study enhances our understanding of the past, and is especially revealing of how individuals and groups experienced their world, defined their circumstances, interacted with and through things, inscribed ideas and practices of class, gender, religious difference, and domination through and with objects, and how in turn they created the cultural fabric that often anchored memory practices, public commemoration, and narratives of the past.[10] Crusaders *and* their kin, the family members and especially wives, mothers, sisters and daughters, who remained at home in the West – awaiting the return or news of the death of a loved one – used objects as conduits of memory: to evoke people and places, to nurture goals and ideals, and to share in the experiences, struggles, and occasional victories of those departed on crusade.[11] As Nicholas Paul has argued, an analysis of such objects

> reveals the degree to which crusaders and their relatives sought out the solid substance to which memory could be effectively affixed, and how by deliberate arrangement, exchange, disruption, and appropriation of this fabric, they hoped to alter or access the discourse of ancestry and tradition.[12]

The reuse, recycling, and reimagining of objects, moreover, further underlines the role of things as vectors and bearers of memory. Seeing crusader objects and

making sense of their meaning owes much to the recent scholarly insights about materiality and material culture. It is now clear that objects and things provoke reactions, ideas, memories, and responses from individuals in the past as in the present. Reading the interactions between and among individuals and things, subjects and objects, has opened up a new set of sources for understanding the role of memory within the Crusades and how crusading worked as a broader movement connecting lords and knights, crusaders and kin, Muslim, Christian and Jew, captives, slaves and freemen, families and kingdoms, and interpretations of space, place, and the sacred. Objects were also integral in redefining the experience of crusading as it transformed in focus from an act of liberation and recovery to the imitative ideal of following in Christ's footsteps and living in imitation of the Apostles and martyrs.

Preparing for war

From the start of the movement, in November of 1095, when Pope Urban II first defined the vow and protections of those who would go to the East to liberate Jerusalem, objects gave visible and sacred definition to the *crucesignati*, those signed with the cross. These were (mostly) men who took up and put upon their person – on their outer garments, cloaks and capes – the sign of the cross, typically small strips of red or white cloth, torn or cut in the shape of a cross and stitched onto their clothes (Figure 5.1). In addition, crusaders were distinguished in the next rite by their status as pilgrims. Before departures, they were given the symbols of their penitent status: the pilgrim's staff and scrip, also known as a pilgrim's purse, or *bourse* in French (Figures 5.2–5.3). These three items, cross, staff, and purse, were the objects that defined the crusader and those who took part in the movement's penitential practice (Figure 5.1). As Cecilia Gaposchkin has shown, after the initial

FIGURE 5.1 Bishop blessing the cross and bestowing it on a departing pilgrim

Source: © Bibliothèque municipale de Besançon, Ms 138, f 156

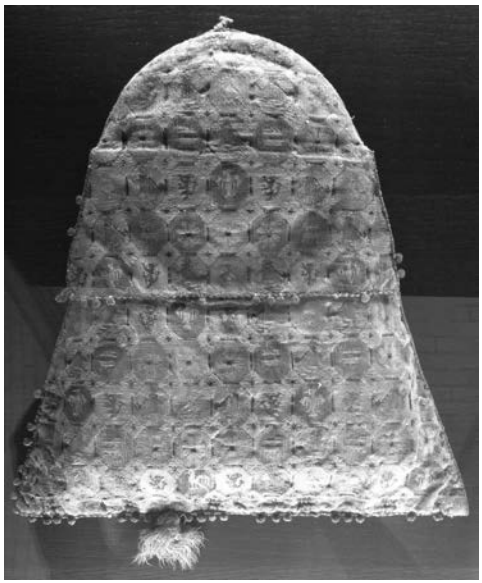

FIGURE 5.2 Crusade bourse or scrip belonging to Thibaut V, Count of Champagne
Source: © Anne E. Lester

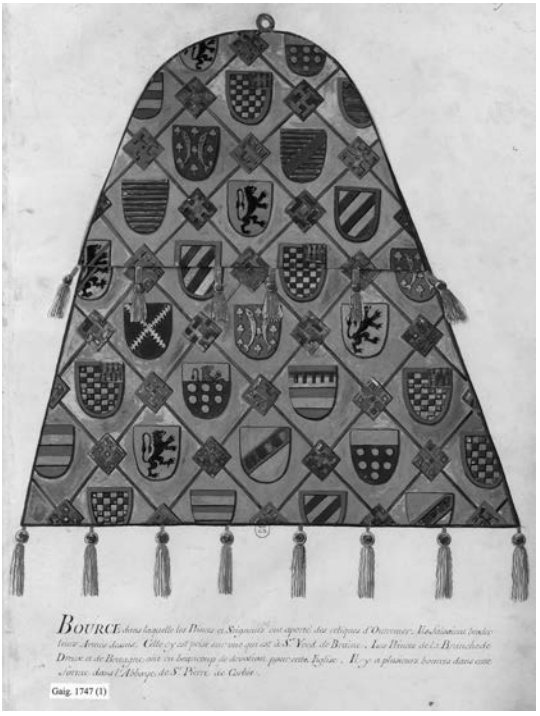

FIGURE 5.3 Crusade bourse or scrip of Peter of Dreux. Front with closure. Gouache on parchment. Collection Roger de Gaignières © Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Reserve PC-18 Fol. 29, Gaignières, 1747 (1)

vow and attendant rites of departure, crusaders also took part in solemn ceremonies for the sanctification or blessing of the many other objects they carried. Blessings of the swords and battle standards become common liturgical rites in the preparations for war.[13] Likewise, solemn acts of gift giving and gift exchange, often conducted in public before retainers, vassals, neighbors, and kin, would provide for the more mundane needs of crusaders as they voyaged east, allowing them to compile credit and locate nodes of networks that would facilitate their supplies once in the Levant, or on the shores of Egypt, Greece, and Cyprus.[14]

Literary traditions and ship manifests make clear that crusaders likewise departed with more mundane yet meaningful objects.[15] The transport of goods, foodstuffs, weapons, and horses was crucial for the success of any expedition and many descriptions of journeys across the sea reference the presence of such materials. Crusaders also often exchanged tokens of affection with mothers, wives, lovers, daughters, and kin (Figure 5.4). Such objects could be carried to recall familial lineage and virtue for those departing, to keep an image of "home" dear in their minds, and to bind them to the deeds of their ancestors while cultivating a longing for those far removed. The exchange of a lock of hair or small piece of cloth, often of eastern

FIGURE 5.4 Bestowal of a token or object between a man and a woman. Part of a Fourth Crusade mosaic narrative. From the floor of the abbey church of San Giovanni Evangelista, Ravenna, c. mid-thirteenth century

Source: © Anne E. Lester

weave or provenance, or the bestowal of a ring could keep the memory of a loved one present from afar.[16] Crusader songs occasionally evoke objects exchanged in this fashion. Written at the time of the Third Crusade, Guiot de Dijon's *Chanterai por mon corage*, is sung in the voice of a woman, longing for her departed lover on crusade:

> I sing to comfort my heart . . . What saddens me is that I did not accompany him when he left. He sent me the shirt that he was wearing that I might hold it in my arms . . . I take it into bed and hold it close to my naked body to soothe my suffering.[17]

Departure was a powerfully distilled ritual and the tokens exchanged in such moments could become objects to which memories were deliberately affixed, crafted, and etched upon the mind and heart. The desire to encapsulate and retain a person or a place upon leave-taking was a strong sentiment, oft repeated. When the Landgrave Ludwig IV of Thuringia departed on crusade in 1227 in the company of Emperor Frederick II, Dietrich of Apolda, the later thirteenth-century hagiographer who composed a *vita* for Ludwig's wife, Saint Elisabeth of Hungary, described his departure:

> when by turns necessity urged and opportunity compelled him [Ludwig] to go, last of all the man of faith showed to his sorrowful wife a ring, which he used for his personal seal, saying: "My sister, this ring bearing the image of the lamb of God with a banner is evidence of my life and it is the proof of my death."[18]

The ring, and perhaps its quality of sealing and replication, was to stand in for Ludwig himself. Its use, if it was used, could make Ludwig's image, or authority, present once more, allowing memory to be transposed into a presence.[19] Space and place too could function like objects, especially when distilled into an image or a moment.[20] In one of the most endearing passages of his narrative, as Joinville departed for the East, he described how he "did not want to cast his eyes towards Joinville at all, fearful that [his] heart would melt for the fine castle and two children [he] was leaving behind."[21] He did not need to look again, as the image of "home" had an almost photographic quality and was already captured and locked in his mind, carried in his memory to the East, and long into old age when he would bring it forth in his memoir. Much of the experience of crusading, both at home and along the frontiers of Christendom, was a process worked out in negotiation with memories of places, loved ones, objects and things carried in the hand, in the heart, and in the mind.

Crusaders also took with them what was needed for a court on the move, objects of a far more mundane nature: supplies for themselves and for men-at-arms, sergeants, servants, horses, fodder and feed, weapons, and those capable of repairing and manufacturing the necessities of pitched battle and siege warfare (Figure 5.5). Many

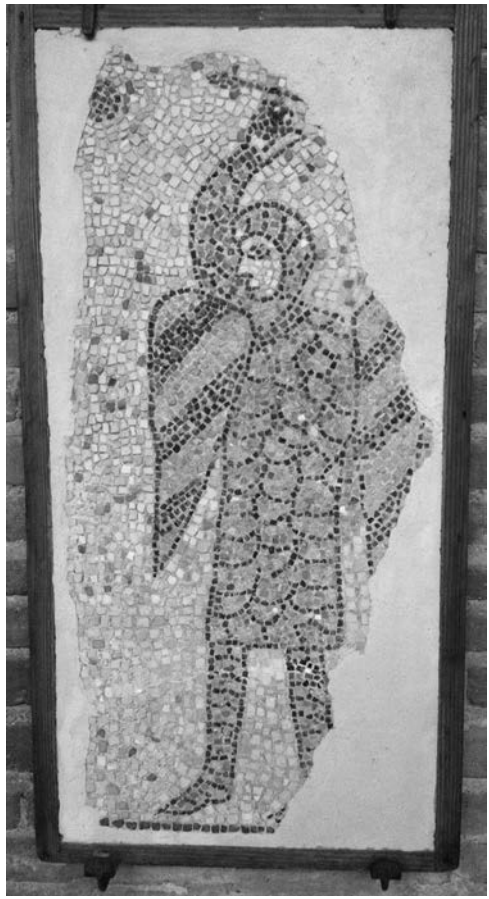

FIGURE 5.5 Crusader depicted in chainmail armor, with heraldic shield and sword. Part of a Fourth Crusade mosaic narrative. From the floor of the abbey church of San Giovanni Evangelista, Ravenna, c. mid-thirteenth century

Source: © Anne E. Lester

crusaders lived in tents of various make, which also needed to be packed, carried and reassembled. Defeat could bring the loss of such ad hoc shelters, whereas victory over the Muslims, in particular, was often displayed by the capture and distribution of an enemy's tents. Counts and nobles traveled too with the supplies and personnel needed for a chancery or writing office, including parchment, inks, wax, and seals. Similarly, the accoutrements for portable chapels traveled: breviaries, psalters, altar furnishings, and relics as well as chaplains needed to say mass were transported across great distances for use on ships, in the field of battle, and in times of peace, rendering the crusade expeditions, in Jonathan Riley-Smith's words, like a "military monastery on the move."[22] And of course, in constant circulation were coins to buy what could not be carried; and credit networks to cover the unanticipated costs of

delayed journeys and extended stays in the East.[23] When Jacques de Vitry, traveling as the newly elected Bishop of Acre, sailed from Genoa to the Holy Land between October of 1216 and March of 1217, he wrote letters to acquaintances in Liège and Paris that describe how he traveled:

> I hired a newly built ship which had never crossed the sea for the price of a thousand pounds . . . I prepared five rooms for myself and my possessions, [one] in which I would eat and study my books and would remain during the day unless there was a storm at sea. I hired another room, in which I would sleep at night with my companions, and another . . . in which I stored my vestments and kept the victuals necessary for myself throughout the week. I rented [still] another room in which my servants would sleep and prepare food for me and procured another place where my horses, which I arranged to cross the sea with me, would be kept. [And] I caused to be gathered together in the ship's hold my wine and biscuit and [preserved] meats and other things sufficient for my sustenance for nearly three months.[24]

To be sure, most men and women did not travel in such luxury, but the objects they carried certainly mattered to them a great deal.

Shortly after the crusading army's capture of Damietta during the Fifth Crusade, on December 9, 1219, Barzella Merxadrus, a citizen crusader from Bologna, became gravely ill and drew up his will. He appears to have been a well-equipped foot-soldier and perhaps part of the city militia or confraternity from Bologna. He was a *crucesignatus* with his wife Guiletta, who was present as he lay ill and enumerated his bequests. Barzella gave

> to the hospital of the Germans in Jerusalem [the Teutonic Order], where he wished to be buried, all of his weapons and armor and his hauberk with one arm guard and a coif. . . . to one person remaining overseas [he left] two sacks of biscuit, two measures of flour, two measures of wine, and the fourth part of a [measure] of wheat, one set of breeches, one shirt, and six *bizants* for accompaniments to bread and wine.[25]

To his "companions and his wife he left a share of the tent and its furnishings" where he lay dying and dictating the will. He made clear that:

> his companions are not to cause any injury to his aforementioned wife in regard to the same tent and its furnishings for as long as she shall continue to dwell fully and peacefully in the same tent just as she has dwelled in it up to the present, for as long as she shall remain in that same army.[26]

Clearly crusaders – men and women – lived side-by-side in tents, shared food and provisions, clothes, and armor when needed and distributed those in turn if they died peacefully, as Barzella may have done. What special objects he may have given

to Guiletta remained outside the law of codicils and the transcription of William of Sanguinetta, who wrote and copied the will.

Memorabilia, souvenirs and heirlooms

From the first victories in the East, culminating in the liberation of Jerusalem on July 15, 1099, a wide variety of objects poured into the West, often with returning crusaders, though many were sent with companions, knights, chaplains, and later traveling Templars and Hospitallers and many others who facilitated the comings-and-goings that kept the Crusader States connected to Europe. The very process of travel, transport, and appropriation changed materials, transforming them from simple possessions to "memory pegs" or memorabilia, souvenirs, and heirlooms, all indicative and evocative of experiences in the East. As Jonathan Riley-Smith described, beginning in 1099 following the crusader capture of Jerusalem, many returning crusaders carried palm fronds with them as symbols of their entry into Jerusalem, of their literal mimesis of Christ. Indeed, Albert of Aachen reported that "after the liberation of Jerusalem and the defeat of the Egyptian army of relief at Ascalon the survivors of the crusade abandoned most of their weapons and returned home carrying their palms 'as a sign of victory.'"[27] Palm fronds were objects of little material value, but great religious and symbolic import. Placed upon the altars of local churches they represented a piece of Jerusalem in the West.

Memories of crusading were intertwined with the experience of the Holy Land itself, and later, of life in the East as well as in the Latin Empire of Constantinople, the Morea, Cypress, and Egypt, as well as Spain, Poland, and southern France. Certain objects carried as memorabilia or souvenirs could also, like the *pallia* at Lastours, become heirlooms, tokens passed down within a family over generations to evoke the crusading legacy and around which narratives of prowess and virtue could be told and retold. Cloth was an especially common souvenir. Easy to transport, symbolic of many things, its touch and manufacture – especially Egyptian and Syrian textile work and designs – were different than anything known in the West before the crusade period, with very few exceptions.[28] Vessels of wood, silver, gold, and enamel moved between the East and West. Objects like the so-called Freer Canteen and the Resafa treasure speak far more clearly than texts often do of the interactions between Latin Christians and eastern Christians and Muslims in the Levant.[29] These objects display hybrid motifs and inscriptions indicative of the use and reuse by multiple communities over generations. The beauty or utility of an object could preserve it from destruction and facilitate reuse in new and unintended contexts.

Several objects among the so-called Resafa treasure, especially the wide-rimmed cup (Figures 5.6 a and b), appear to have been carried to the East or perhaps commissioned there by crusaders from northern France. The inside of the cup was emblazoned with the heraldry of the lord of Coucy and many of his companions. Richard Leson has suggested that additional heraldic devices were added, possibly by artisans working in the East, to underline new aristocratic associations and friendships forged through crusading and the experience of living in the Levant.[30] Glass,

FIGURE 5.6a Facsimile of the cup from the Resafa Hoard

Source: Photo by Jürgen Vogel. © LVR – LandesMuseum Bonn

FIGURE 5.6b Detail of the cup from the Resafa Hoard

Source: Reproduced with permission from *William Marshal, 3ed* (Routledge, 2016), figure 2

but especially rock crystal, functioned in a similar manner. Beakers and containers, *capsa* or small phylacteries made of glass and crystal were prized for their clear Eastern provenance and were little known in the West before the crusade period.[31] The community and conviviality built with and around drinking cups comes out in crusader romances, which also make mention of their use and eventual reuse as donations to chapels and monastic churches upon departure. The so-called Hedwig beakers, Islamic-made cut-glass beakers approximately 8–14 cm high, are a good example, and in many cases were reused or inserted into reliquaries to hold and display relics visible through the etched glass. Examples of such beakers can be found in treasury collections across Europe.[32] Although not holy objects in and of themselves, the materials and motifs they possessed associated them with the East and the context of crusading. In turn, they became part of a culture of venerated objects or objects onto which miraculous narratives were mapped because of their perceived provenance and imagined associations with the Holy Land and Egypt.

Testaments, necrologies, and chronicles also describe objects acquired in the East, or carried to the East and returned, that were passed down within families, as heirlooms valued because they were freighted with crusade related memories.[33] Many objects used in this way, it was believed, retained the personal charge of their original owners. Armor functioned in such a manner, and upon the death of a loved one, when a body or bones could not be returned or recovered, the return of armor could stand in for "missing men."[34] Thus, when Aleaume de Fontaine died in the East in the years following the Fourth Crusade, he sent home with his chaplain relics, as well as letters patent and his armor, which was received by his wife and son.[35] Some 50 years later, when Jean de Joinville was in Syria, he went to considerable length to travel to the Hospitaller castle of Krak des Chevaliers, where his uncle, Geoffrey V of Joinville, was buried, to recover his uncle's shield. Jean then carried the shield with him back to Champagne and hung it in his familial chapel of St.-Laurent.[36]

Smaller objects, like devotional crosses and jewelry, and especially rings, circulated more easily as heirlooms and are frequently noted in the sources, passing from from father to son, uncle to nephew. Many of the objects described in wills and inventories have traceable genealogies. Such objects gave a material focus to the deeds, virtues, and images that formed the tesserae of collective memories forged over generations. As Nicholas Paul has described, rings were objects especially freighted with personal associations that moved with ease and intent from generation to generation. A ring that Gouffier of Lastours had acquired in "the war for Jerusalem" (that is, following the First Crusade) had passed to Adhémar III, viscount of Limoges and Comborn, and after 1139 it passed, perhaps through his daughter, to his grandson, Guy. When Guy lay dying in Acre in 1148 after the Second Crusade, he sent the ring back to his brother Adhémar, keeping the token – of victory, lineage, and crusading – in the viscomital family for use, presumably, by future generations.[37] That the ring's lineage was still remembered and actively recounted in 1183 as part of the family chronicle demonstrates how effective it was as an object used to anchor memories and to craft narratives.

Rings persisted as frequently moving objects, given as gifts to solidify political and social connections and to shore up disputed or fledgling claims to territory and titles. In 1206, as the political realignment following the Fourth Crusade took shape and the counts of Flanders – first Baldwin (d. 1205) then Henry (d. 1216) – exercised their new roles as elected emperors of Constantinople, Henry sent to his brother, Philip of Namur, an initial gift of relics together with "one emerald" and "another ruby" ring, as well as three lengths of samite cloth.[38] From the detailed inventory of the possessions of Count Eudes of Nevers, created by the executors of his estate after his death in Acre in 1266, we learn that the count took with him on crusade 13 rings, 11 of which were referred to as "rings of Le Puy," presumably created there or associated with families of the region.[39] Some of these he bestowed to his knights. As Paul notes, however, two "were distinguished . . . and entrusted for transport to Hugh Augerant." One of which appears to have been "given to Eudes by his father, Duke Hugh IV of Burgundy, a veteran of the 1239 [Barons'] crusade," and the second, the executors noted, "should be for the heirs of Nevers."[40] Thus, while some crusader rings remained within the comital family, others, given to Eudes's knights, would become crusader tokens in their own right, capable of generating new stories of Eudes's largess and death in the East to be circulated within and among other knightly families.

Relics and remembrance

Much like rings and cloth, relics were portable objects. From their very inception in the Late Antique period, relics – whether fragments of holy bodies or bones, or *eulogia*, that is, blessings in the form of objects associated with a holy place or person – provided tangible, moveable material that was both the locus of holiness as well as a physical reminder, a memory device, capable of evoking the sacred at its genesis, capable of reproducing without diminishment the holiness of a far distant place or long dead person.[41] Jonathan Riley-Smith has shown that while crusaders often returned in debt and beleaguered, they also returned with relics "tiny and portable [fragments] . . . of immense religious significance."[42] Indeed, in addition to palm fronds, several First crusaders also returned with relics, most commonly relics of the True Cross and of places associated with Christ's death and Resurrection. And the crusaders seemed to

> shower European churches with them: pieces of the True Cross . . . stones from the Holy Sepulchre and the site of the Ascension, hair torn from her head by Our Lady as she witnessed the Crucifixion, and a hair from Christ's bead, and relics of Saints John the Baptist, Nicholas . . . Cleophas and Sergius.[43]

Relics of the Holy Lance and of Saint George also circulated, emblematic of their pivotal role in victories during the First Crusade.

Relics were especially complex objects with respect to practices of memory. As fragments or pieces of a holy place or person, relics held the memories of specific religious concepts and experiences both in the devotional present and in the

Apostolic or biblical past. But they also served to recall the penitential and explicitly religious nature of the practice of crusading: that the journey itself was an experience imitative of Christ's suffering. In light of this, it is not surprising that the majority of relics that returned with crusaders were relics of the cross, or "wood of the Lord" as they were most commonly described (Figure 5.7).[44] While relics poured into the Europe following many expeditions east, they also often circulated back and forth between the East and West. In this sense they were truly crusader objects. By the mid- to late-twelfth century, as new generations of crusaders departed for the East on the Second Crusade (1144) and later the Third Crusade (1189/90), or took part in smaller expeditions in the decades in between, they often carried with them portable altars or crosses outfitted with what could be called heirloom relics: relics that had come into the West with grandfathers, uncles, brothers who had crusaded before them, making the circuit to and from Jerusalem on several occasions. In 1184, for example, Osto of Trazegnies, "a nobleman and outstanding soldier," gave tithes from Trazegnies to the canons of Floreffe in Flanders before he departed "to visit the Lord's tomb and . . . to avenge the insult given to the Almighty."[45] Upon his return he brought back relics from Jerusalem, including "the wood of the Lord's cross."[46] Osto's son, Gilles, took an oath on the relic when reconciling with the canons and then recounted the lineage of the relic, which appears to have been given over to Floreffe by 1195. In 1200, Gilles took the cross with Count Baldwin

FIGURE 5.7 Reliquary of the True Cross and Cross relic

Source: © Daniel Arnaudet. Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, NY

IX of Flanders as part of the Fourth Crusade, but died at the siege of Constantinople in April of 1204.[47] Many other noble families possessed relics and reliquaries that were used in a similar fashion, to affirm public oaths and as a display of aristocratic identity and religious authority. They also worked powerfully to re-inscribe and reaffirm the memories of their predecessors, whose stories were no doubt told and retold around the object.[48]

The scale and impact of crusade relics vastly expanded in the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade in 1204, when French, Flemish, and Venetian crusaders turned aside from their Holy Land ambitions, laid siege to Constantinople, and with their victory, established a Latin Empire in Byzantium that would last until 1261. Following the sack of the city, the crusaders began to send relics back to the West in great numbers, sometimes bundled together and at other times in their original Byzantine reliquaries.[49] Scholars have estimated that over 3,000 relics came to northern Europe between 1204 and the late 1240s. Most of these objects, drawn from the Byzantine context, contained fragments related to Christ's Passion, especially pieces of the True Cross, and perhaps most famously the Crown of Thorns. The christological nature of these objects, which emphasized the Lord's suffering during the Passion, became the focus of liturgies and prayers written in their honor. In their consent to move from East to West, from Jerusalem to Constantinople, and then to northern Europe, and principally to France, these relics signaled Christ's willing displacement to the West.[50] The shift in the nature of relics that returned with crusaders further underlined changes taking place within crusading itself as the movement became more focused on acts of suffering undertaking through the journey rather than any hope of victory or the return of Jerusalem to European control. One consequence of this shift was that memories began to change as they related to crusader relics and associated objects. The displacement of time allowed for greater leeway in the crafting of histories, myths, and strategies of imaginative memory.

Histories, myths and imaginative memory

Over time, many objects lost whatever specific biographies they once possessed and gained new ones, anchored to present desires for historical continuities and imagined pasts or precedents. This is particularly true of histories told about relics, although similar stories grew up around other objects with associated crusade provenances. Thus a Jewish Rhineland text tells of a Christian woman who offered a cure to a Jewish woman whose son was sick. She instructed the Jewish woman to have her son drink water upon a stone that was believed to have been brought from the Holy Sepulchre, specifically part of the stone on which Jesus was buried, for it was believed that Christians who had done so had been cured. Holding to her faith, the Jewish woman declined the offer, because the stone had been received and remembered communally as a Christian relic.[51] The process of recollecting a place and the power of stones or buildings to enhance such memories can be noted too in the interest in building "replicas" of the Holy Sepulchre as was often the case

with Templar chapels or churches built in the round. Although such spaces shared little of the actual aesthetic of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, they were meant through their circular form and alignment of interior columns to trigger an imaginative memory of the original.[52]

Enhancing the narratives associated with crusade objects was not unusual. Silks and linens, acquired simply enough in the East and given as gifts to monastic houses and cathedrals in the West, could become unmoored from their mundane histories to acquire grander origins. One such *tiraz* embroidered cloth that bore an inscription detailing its production in Fatimid Egypt for the vizier al-Afdal during the reign of the caliph Musta'ali (d. 1101) came to the monks of Cadouin in Périgord after the First Crusade. By the thirteenth century, the Cistercian chronicler Alberic of Trois-Fontaines retold the story of the cloth and traced the fabric as a gift from Adhémar of Montheil, papal legate on the First Crusade. The monks then claimed that the *tiraz* was the shroud of Christ.[53] Another similar object in the Cathedral of Apt was said to be the veil of Saint Anne.[54] Likewise, the cloth venerated as the chemise of the Virgin at Chartres Cathedral appears to have had similar origins, but to have been reimagined and thus "transformed from [a] luxury textile into [a] devotional object."[55]

The distance created by time gave wider berth for such inventive narratives. By the crusade period, and certainly by the twelfth century, many relics were traced back to Charlemagne and his alleged "voyage" to Jerusalem, which came to be thought of as a proto-crusade.[56] To link these objects, many of which were acquired during the crusade period, to Charlemagne was to "remember" them within a much longer culturally defined ideal of crusading that was reaffirmed through liturgies, *chansons de geste*, chronicle traditions, and visual media.[57] In the context of France and Germany, kingdoms that both crafted their sense of royal ideology around objects touched by Charlemagne, this gave a proto-nationalistic quality to the narratives associated with such material. A similar process of reinvention occurred with the Passion relics, especially the Crown of Thorns housed in the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris after 1248 (Figure 5.8). The French king, Louis IX, had acquired the Passion relics in 1237/1238 after they had been used as a gage when Baldwin II, the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, contracted a series of loans with Venetian creditors in an attempt to shore up his failing dominion.[58] Yet, by the fourteenth century, Louis IX's financial transaction was rewritten, and many men and women came to conflate Louis's crusade activities and his sojourn in the Holy Land with his acquisition of the Passion relics. Thus the French king's failed crusade came to be remembered as a triumph: the mythic translation of Christ's relics into France under the Capetians.[59] History, memory, and myth were closely related and material objects proved powerful tools for working one into the other. Although the historical desire may be to disarticulate objects from their myths, it is their linkage that speaks to the kinds of cultural narratives societies craft. These inventive memories also suggest how individuals and groups came to understand the ambitions, victories, and failures of the Crusades and their connection to the Holy Land.

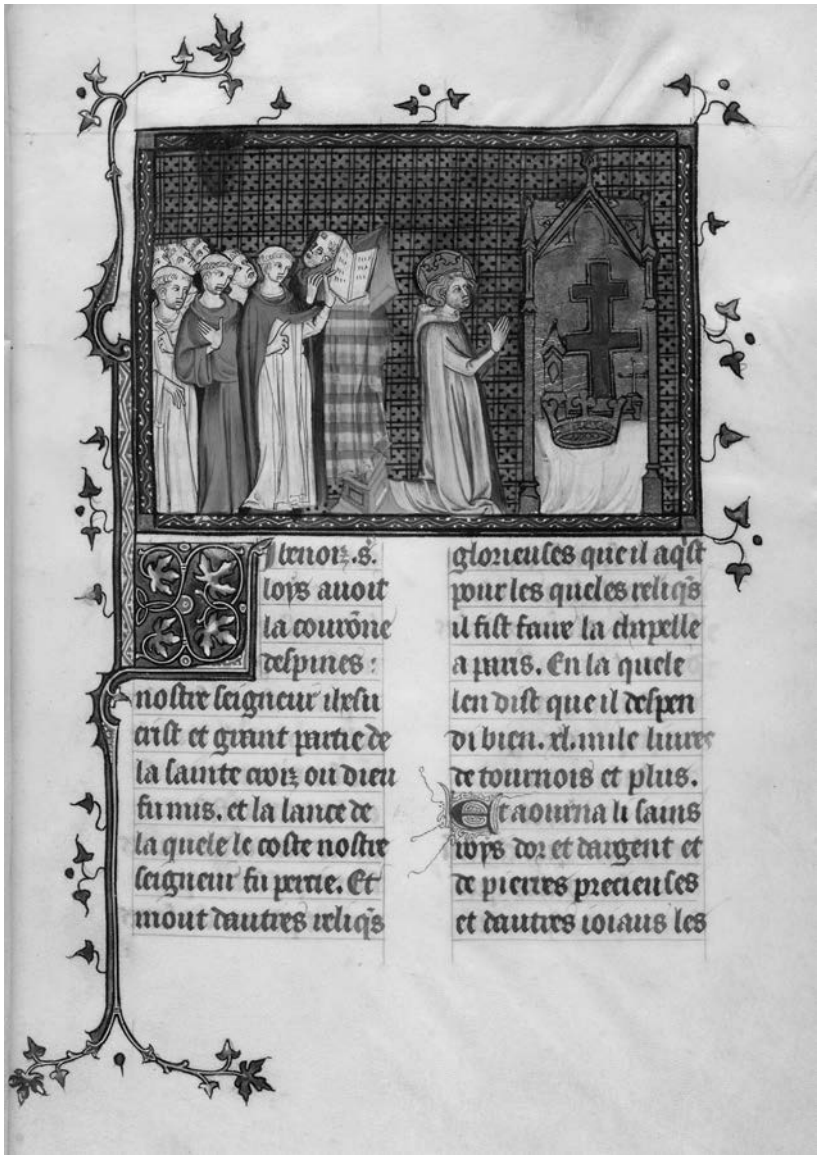

FIGURE 5.8 King Louis IX of France praying before the relics of the Sainte-Chapelle
Source: © Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Français 5716 f.67r

Conclusion

Things, both viewed, or better still, held in the hand, had the potential to speak and unspool memories of places and people no longer present. Whether crafted as object biographies, cultural biographies of things, or the personal life and even cognitive life of objects, the relationship between the material and the human in

the context of the Crusades was powerful. Moreover, as many scholars have shown, certain materials have sensory potential, facilitating intimate and intense memories of smells and sounds, tastes and textures, of very different places.[60] Reading past texts and materials in this way is to listen in on the dialogue between subject and object; between self and thing and how it was that individuals crafted memories of the Crusades and crusading.

Notes

1 The crocodile of St.-Bertrand de Cummings is most famously mentioned by M.R. James both in a ghost story, but also in his notes and letters, see M.R. James, "Canon Alberic's Scrap-Book," in M.R. James, *Count Magnus and Other Ghost Stories: The Complete Ghost Stories of M. R. James*, vol. 1, ed. S.T. Joshi (New York: Penguin, 2005), 1–13, at 2, n258–61. For a fuller description, see Le Baron Louis de Fiancette D'Agos, *Notre-Dame de Comminges: Monographie de l'ancienne cathédrale de Saint-Bertrand* (Saint-Gaudens: Librairie Abadie, 1876), 37–9, a book that James may have read before his visit to the Garônne valley. A beautiful line-drawing of a crocodile on the Nile appears in Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, now in the Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, University of Cambridge, CCCC MS 16I, fol. iv R, rubricated as "*C[r]ocodaillus in Nilo*." On the conception of the crocodile during the Middle Ages, see David Malkiel, "The Rabbi and the Crocodile: Interrogating Nature in the Late Quattrocento," *Speculum* 91 (2016): 115–48; for the allegory of the crocodile as a symbol of the resurrection and Christ's Harrowing of Hell, see 127n44.

2 See Nicholas Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), 91. I follow Paul's translation of Geoffrey of Vigeois, *Chronica Gaufredi prior Vosiensis: Pars alterna*, ed. Philippe Labbé. In *Nova Bibliotheca manuscriptorum librorum, tomus secundus rerum Aquitanicarum praesertim bituricensium uberrima collectio . . . opera ac studio* (Paris, 1657), 330–42, at 340.

3 On cloth and its meaning, see Irit Ruth Kleiman, "The Shirt is Closest to the Body: On Joinville's *Memoirs*," *English Language Notes* 53 (2015): 55–68; Sharon Farmer, "Medieval Paris and the Mediterranean: The Evidence from the Silk Industry," *French Historical Studies* 37 (2014): 383–419; and E. Jane Burns, *Sea of Silk: A Textile Geography of Women's Work in Medieval French Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

4 Jean de Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. and trans. Jacques Monfrin (Paris, 2005); here I cite from the English translation in John of Joinville and Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *Chronicles of the Crusades*, trans. Caroline Smith (New York: Penguin, 2008) [hereafter Joinville, *Life of Saint Louis*, paragraph number]: for the shield, see the appendix, pp. 346–7; camelin cloth, para. 599–601; amber and crystal gifts, para. 456–7; the fossil, para. 602.

5 Lambert of Ardres, *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres*, trans. Leah Shopkow (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), chap. 134, p. 168.

6 Lambert of Ardres, *History of the Counts of Guines*, chap. 134, p. 168. The full description of the relics Arnold brought back from the First Crusade are given at chap. 130, p. 164.

7 On this, see Anne E. Lester, "What Remains: Women, Relics and Remembrance in the Aftermath of the Fourth Crusade," *Journal of Medieval History* 40 (2014): 311–28.

8 On this approach, see, for example, Jonas Grethlein, "Memory and Material Objects in the Iliad and the Odyssey," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 128 (2008): 27–51.

9 On this method, see the essays in *Documentary Archaeology in the New World*, ed. Mary Beaudry (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

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12 Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, 95.

13 M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, "From Pilgrimage to Crusade: The Liturgy of Departure, 1095–1300," *Speculum* 88 (2013): 44–91.

14 For examples of such donations and contracts, typically performed before a host of witnesses, see the charters collected, edited and translated in Corliss Konwiser Slack, *Crusade Charters, 1138–1270*, trans. Hugh Bernard Feiss (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001).

15 See for example, James M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1212–1221* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986); and John H. Pryor, "Transportation of Horses by Sea during the Era of the Crusades: Eighth Century to 1285 AD," *Mariner's Mirror* 68 (1982): 9–27 and 103–25; John H. Pryor, "*In Subsidium Terrae Sanctae*: Exports of Foodstuffs and War Materials from the Kingdom of Sicily to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1265–1284," *Asian and African Studies* 22 (1988): 127–46.

16 A lock of hair is given to his love by the main character who departs for the Third Crusade in *Le Roman de Châtelain de Coucy et de la Dame de Fayel*, ed. and trans. Catherine Gauillier-Bougasses, Champion Classiques, Séries Moyen Age 26 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2009). See more generally, the discussions in John W. Baldwin, *Aristocratic Life in Medieval France: The Romances of Jean Renart and Gerbert de Montreuil, 1190–1230* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), and Sharon Kinoshita, "Almería Silk and the French Feudal Imaginary: Toward a 'Material' History of the Medieval Mediterranean," in *Medieval Fabrications: Dress, Textiles, Clothwork, and Other Cultural Imaginings*, ed. E. Jane Burns (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 165–76; E. Jane Burns, *Courtly Love Undressed: Reading Through Clothes in Medieval French Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005); and Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*.

17 See Michael Routledge, "Songs," in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 91–111, quoted in translation at 103–4; also *Chanson de croisade*, ed. J. Bédier and P. Aubry (Paris: H. Champion, 1909).

18 Dietrich of Apolda, *Die Vita de heiligan Elizabeth*, ed. Monika Rener (Marburg: N.G. Elwert, 1993), 67; here translated by Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, 108–9.

19 The role of rings, particularly those bearing inscriptions or images for sealing, is described by Joinville when he recounts the gifts of the Old Man of the Mountain given to Louis IX. Among the objects listed above, "he sent the king his ring, which was made of very fine gold and had his name engraved on it; their lord informed them that with this ring he formed a union with the king, wishing them to be as one from this time forwards." Joinville, *Life of Saint Louis*, para. 456. On seals and their potential for replication and representations, see Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, "Medieval Identity: A Sign and a Concept," *American Historical Review* 105 (2000): 1489–533.

20 For a masterful treatment of the role of space, architectural forms and the built environment in the context of crusader memory, see Heather E. Grossman, "On Memory, Transmission and the Practice of Building in the Crusader Mediterranean," *Medieval Encounters* 18 (2012): 481–517.

21 Joinville, *Life of Saint Louis*, para. 122.

22 Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London: Contiuum, 1993), 2.

23 On methods of payment while on campaign, see Alan Murray, "Money and Logistics in the Forces of the First Crusade: Coinage, Bullion, Service and Supply, 1096–99," in *Logistics of Warfare in the Age of the Crusades*, ed. John H. Pryor (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 229–49.

24 James of Vitry, *Letters*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens (Leiden: Brill 1960), nos. 1, 76; translated in *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of*

Acre, 1187–1291, ed. Jessalynn Bird, Edward Peters, and James M. Powell (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 437.

25 Ludovico Vittorio Savioli, ed. *Annali Bolognesi*, 3 vols. in 6 (Bassano, 1784–1795), 2.2:419–20, no.480, translated in Bird, *Crusade and Christendom*, 440–2, at 440–1.

26 Bird, *Crusade and Christendom*, 441.

27 Albert of Aachen, "Historia Hierosolymitana," in *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens occidentaux*, 5 vols (Paris: Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1844–95), 4: 499–500; cited in Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 144–5.

28 See above, n3.

29 See Eva R. Hoffman, "Christian-Islamic Encounters on Thirteenth-Century Ayyubid Metalwork: Local Culture, Authenticity, and Memory," *Gesta* 43 (2004): 129–42. On the Resafa treasure, see Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land: From the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 87–92 and the notes for additional bibliography. On the complexity of such objects, see also Oleg Grabar, "About a Bronze Bird," in *Reading Medieval Images: The Art Historian and the Object*, ed. Elizabeth Sears and Thelma K. Thomas (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 117–25.

30 Richard A. Leson, "A Constellation of Crusade: The Resafa Heraldry Cup and the Aspiration of Raoul I, Lord of Coucy," in *The Crusades and Visual Culture*, ed. Elizabeth Lapina, April Jehan Morris, Susanna A. Throop, and Laura J. Whatley (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 75–90.

31 See, for example, Stefania Gerevini, "The Grotto of the Virgin in San Marco: Artistic Reuse and Cultural Identity in Medieval Venice," *Gesta* 53 (2014): 197–220; also, Angeliki E. Laiou, in "Venice as a Center of Trade and of Artistic Production in the Thirteenth Century," *Il Medio Oriente e l'Occidente nell'arte del XIII seculo: Atti del XXIV Congresso del Comitato Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte, sez. 2*, ed. Hans Belting (Bologna: CLUEB, 1982), 11–26; reprinted in *Byzantium and the Other: Relations and Exchanges* (Variorum Collected Studies Series) (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

32 The most complete bibliography on the Hedwig Beakers is: www.cmog.org/article/hedwig-beakers. I thank Caroline Goodson for this reference.

33 On heirlooms and their value, see Roberta Gilchrist, "The Materiality of Medieval Heirlooms: From Biographical to Sacred Objects," in *Mobility, Meaning and Transformation of Things: Shifting Contexts of Material Culture Through Time and Space*, ed. Hans Peter Hahn and Hadas Weiss (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013), 170–82.

34 For this phrase and a discussion of armor as a peg for memory, see Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, 103–23, and 134–70 for the bodies of crusaders.

35 See Comte Paul Riant, *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, 2 vols. (Geneva, 1877–8; reprinted Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2004) 2:17.

36 By that time the shield had become an heirloom, passed down through three generations. See Joinville, *Life of Saint Louis*, Appendix II: Epitaph for Geoffrey III of Joinville, trans. Caroline Smith, 347. See also Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, 122–3.

37 See Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, 106.

38 Riant, *Exuviae*, 2:74, no. 23; and Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, 108.

39 M. Chazaud, "Inventaire et comptes de la succession d'Eudes, comte de Nevers (Acre, 1266)," *Mémoires de la Sociéte des Antiquaires de France* 4th sers. 2 (1871): 164–206. See also the discussion in Folda, *Crusader Art and the Holy Land*, 356–8.

40 Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, 109.

41 On relics, relic types, and their conception in the past, see Julia M.H. Smith, "Relics: An Evolving Tradition in Latin Christianity," in *Saints and Sacred Matter: The Cult of Relics in Byzantium and Beyond*, ed. Cynthia Hahn and Holger A. Klein (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2015), 41–60.

42 Other objects, like the ivory tau the counts of Anjou associated with their crusading past function both as relics of the Holy Land expedition as well as symbols of their religious and political authority in their region. See Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 181–2.

43 Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 151–2.

44 One gets a sense of the sheer numbers from Anatole Frolow, *La relique de la Vraie Croix: Recherches sur le développement d'un culte* (Paris: Institute Français d'études byzantines, 1961); on the cross in the crusade context, see also Alan Murray, "'Mighty against the Enemies of Christ': The Relic of the True Cross in the Armies of the Kingdom of Jerusalem," in *The Crusades and their Sources*, ed. John France and William G. Zajac (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 217–38; and Deborah Gerish, "The True Cross and the Kings of Jerusalem," *The Haskins Society Journal* 8 (1996): 1317–55.
45 See Slack, *Crusade Charters*, no.14, 88–98, at 91.
46 Slack, *Crusade Charters*, no.14, 96n6.
47 Slack, *Crusade Charters*, no.14, 96–7. On Osto and Gilles of Trazegnies, see also Jean Longnon, *Les Compagnons de Villehardouin: Recherches sur les croisés de la quatrième croisade* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1978), 164, who notes that Gilles died in Syria rather than Constantinople.
48 Perhaps the best example of such an object is the portable altar of Philip of Alsace, Count of Flanders, which contained relics that his predecessor Count Robert II of Flanders brought from Jerusalem after the First Crusade. Philip would donate the altar and its contents to the abbey of Clairvaux in 1190 as he departed for the Third Crusade. For a description of the altar, see Charles Lalore, *Le Trésor de Clairvaux du XIIeme au XVIIIeme siècle* (Troyes, 1875), 22; for a discussion of the relic, see Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, 118 and 148–9. Paul notes that both Philip's nephew Baldwin IX and later his grandson, Guy of Dampierre, stopped at Clairvaux as they departed on crusade in 1202 and later in 1270.
49 See Riant, *Exuviae*, for the most complete overview of these objects; also the essays in *Urbs Capta: The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences / La IVe Croisade et ses consequences*, ed. Angeliki Laiou (Paris: Lethielleux, 2005); David Perry, *Sacred Plunder: Venice and the Aftermath of the Fourth Crusade* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015); and Lester, "What Remains."
50 The text of Gautier Cornut's *historia* written in honor of the reception of the Crown of Thorns in Paris in 1239 conveys this idea very clearly. This text has been edited and is printed in Riant, *Exuviae*, 1:45–56. Similar ideas and images are expressed in the narrative, perhaps also an *historia* intended for use in the liturgy, attributed to a monk, Gérald of Saint-Quentin-en-I'Isle. His text, known as the *Translatio sancta corone*, has been published in Fernand de Mély, *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae* 3 (Paris: Leroux, 1904), 102–12.
51 The story is translated in Joseph Shatzmiller, "Doctors and Medical Practice in Germany around the Year 1200: The Evidence of *Sefer Hasidim*," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 33 (1982): 583–93, at 588n13, 593. This example is also discussed in William Chester Jordan, *The French Monarchy and the Jews: From Philip Augustus to the Last Capetians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), 24–6. I thank Bill Jordan for calling this and other examples to my attention.
52 See Robert Ousterhout, "Flexible Geography and Transportable Topography," in *The Real and the Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art* (Jerusalem, 1998) (published as *Jewish Art* 23–4 (1997–8): 393–404); and Robert Ousterhout, "The Church of Santo Stefano: A 'Jerusalem' in Bologna," *Gesta* 20 (1981): 311–21.
53 On this act of imaginative memory, see Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, 94–5, and 111. Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica*, ed. Paul Scheffer-Boichorst, *Monumenta Germaniae historica: Scriptores in folio* 38 vols. (Hanover: Hahn, 1826–), 23:824.
54 Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, 95.
55 Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, 94; on the Virgin's chemise, see E. Jane Burns, "Saracen Silk and the Virgin's Chemise: Cultural Crossings in Cloth," *Speculum* 81 (2006): 365–97.
56 See *The Legend of Charlemagne in the Middle Ages: Power, Faith, and Crusade*, ed. Matthew Gabriele and Jace Stuckey (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Matthew Gabriele, *An Empire of Memory: The Legend of Charlemagne, the Franks, and Jerusalem before the First Crusade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), and Anne A. Latowsky, *Emperor of the World: Charlemagne and the Construction of Imperial Authority, 800–1229* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), esp. 59–98 and 215–50.

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58 See Chiara Mercuri, *Saint Louis et la couronne d'épines: Histoire d'une relique à la Sainte-Chapelle*, trans. Philippe Rouillard (Paris: Riveneuve Éditions, 2011).
59 For this transformation, see William Chester Jordan, "Judaizing the Passion: The Case of the Crown of Thorns in the Middle Ages," in *New Perspectives on Jewish–Christian Relations*, ed. Elisheva Carlebach and Jacob Schacter (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 51–63.
60 As Alexa Sand has noted, objects or works of art that have haptic qualities are "oriented toward the sense of touch in their materiality and their conception as representational objects," in Sand, "*Materia Meditandi*: Haptic Perception and Some Parisian Ivories of the Virgin and Child, ca. 1300," *Different Visions: A Journal of New Perspectives on Medieval Art* 4 (2014): 1–28, at 5.

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6

HISTORICAL WRITING (*OR* THE MANUFACTURE OF MEMORY)

Darius von Güttner-Sporzyński

The First Crusade (1095–1099) was the key event in the closing years of the eleventh century and provided the impetus for an extraordinary increase in the volume of historical writing. The new texts aimed to explain, document and propagate the providential nature of the holy war proclaimed by Pope Urban II in Clermont on 27 November 1095. The torrent of writing was instigated by the nature of the crusade and its novelty: never before had a holy war been proclaimed by a pope on God's behalf; never before had fighting for God by Christians been characterized as meritorious. The idea of crusade became a key element of Christianity, transforming its development and shaping the course of history for Western Europe. Yet, the First Crusade was neither defined by its instigator nor institutionalized. Its evolving ideology appears rather to have been a spontaneous response of endeavour to meet contemporary enthusiasm for and interest in the events and concerns of the armed pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The emergent writing by eyewitnesses and historians contributed to the formation of crusader ideology and its theological justification. The process of manufacturing the memory of crusade was well underway even before the triumphant entry of the crusaders into Jerusalem in 1099.

An exceptional amount of writing was generated in the wake of the First Crusade and is closely linked to attempts by contemporaries to find meaning in their experiences.[1] The earliest writing about the Crusades recounted the events and experiences of the participants and sought explanations in scriptural memories of the Bible often invoking the theme of sin and redemption and the preordained nature of sacred warfare. In time, common elements in these writings were to emerge to include the eschatological and apocalyptic vision of the end of time at the Last Judgment.

The key sources for the First Crusade are a number of unusually rich, narrative sources. Among them are the narratives specifically related to the crusade composed by writers aiming to give 'theological refinement' to the history of the crusade.[2] Some

of these works were written by those who participated in the crusade as an eyewitness of some degree. These eyewitness accounts are complemented by the writing produced by crusaders directly: the charters drafted when they were about to depart on the crusade and letters written during their participation in it. The crusade narratives, created when crusading was at its height (1095–1291) include annals, chronicles, gesta, hagiographical and epistolary works. Many of the sources are often limited to specific expeditions, while others, notably the monastic chronicles or annals had a wider historical focus. The works written among the settlers and crusaders, such as the writings of William of Tyre and his continuators, Peter of Dusburg or Henry of Livonia, later also provided detailed information about crusader settlers.

Scholars have continued to debate the experience of crusading and its impact on a range of human activities. The rich scholarship has considered these impacts in terms of identity, memory, narrative, remembrance, spirituality and violence, which indicates that the Crusades as an area of scholarship and analysis has continually undergone analysis, review and reconsideration.

The passing of contemporary knowledge about crusader experiences is characterized by the wide variety of crusader narratives. Whether they are an accurate source of historical account remains debatable. The question remains whether any narrative can be trusted to be 'empiricist' or 'reconstructionist' and void of application of concepts of race, gender or class to historical evidence. Can 'historical truth' be inferred by using other complementary evidence to uncover what the language of the narrative failed to convey? Perhaps, the narratives are simply chronological arrangements of events whose authors complemented the chronology with invented story telling? Can story telling be a repository of memory? Is there a social function for the writing that followed the First Crusade as sites of memory? The increasing interest in the functioning of the writing as vehicles not only circulating memory but constructing and reconstructing memory is apparent in recent works of Jean Flori, Jay Rubenstein and Nicholas Paul and others.[3] Perhaps, the most significant contribution of recent years is the collection of essays *Writing the Early Crusades: Text, Transmission and Memory* edited by Marcus Bull and Damien Kempf, which offers a very broad approach to early crusade writing across the narrative corpus of the First Crusade.[4]

Memory as a category of historical analysis is closely linked with rewriting and remembrance. The social context of memory creation enables shaping of historical narrative bringing together the chronology of events with their meaning and image. If memory is the interlined web which enmeshes individual images of the past, then acts of remembrance ascribe them meaning and cohesion reflecting the context in which they are performed.[5] The historical writing on the Crusades resemble memory and enables remembering of the Crusades.

Generations of scholars attempted to use individual texts to assess an author's conscious or unconscious use of narrative to impart opinions. This chapter offers an examination of some of the crusader history writing and presents a group of texts which vary in terms of perspective, but are linked by historical events relating to crusading, whether in the Latin East or continental Europe. These are the sources

influenced heavily by military successes and failures, ecclesiastical and secular politics and natural disasters; factors which stimulated and shaped the course of historical narratives. They also demonstrate the cultural significance of the First Crusade, which became a reference point for history writing with history written and rewritten to shape and reshape the memory of the crusade, often reflecting the needs of the author. Marcus Bull explains, 'all the narrative histories of the First Crusade written in the decades after 1099, however reliant on other texts, constitute creative, expressive acts'.[6]

The written accounts by eyewitnesses

The *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum* is the key Latin eyewitness account of the First Crusade. It influenced subsequent writing on the First Crusade and is the foundation for most of the subsequent twelfth-century histories.[7] In the historiography of the *Gesta Francorum* two issues acquired prominence: the question of its authorship and the date of its composition. The author of the *Gesta Francorum* is unknown. In the discussion about authorship there is almost consensus that the author must have travelled from Italy as far as Antioch and been in the contingent of Bohemond I of Taranto. The author uses the names of many of Bohemond's knights, argues Rosalind Hill, but in the later part of the text makes several errors in the titulature of other princes and their entourage.[8] This knowledge would suggest that the author was a knight rather than a cleric. This view was voiced by the editors of the text, Heinrich Hagenmeyer and Rosalind Hill. Colin Morris was not convinced that the author was a knight after noting the clerical aspects of the writing.[9] The argument resurfaced in the work of Jay Rubenstein whose argument for clerical authorship was based on scriptural inferences in the *Gesta Francorum*.[10] The discussion was summed up by Conor Kostick – that 'so long as the debate is not reduced to insisting the author was either an unlearned warrior or an educated cleric, then the possibility that he was a knight remains a likely one'.[11]

The issue of the completion date of the original manuscript is the second key element of analysis of the *Gesta*. Hill suggests that the text of the first nine of the ten books was completed before the author left Antioch in November 1099.[12] There is no evidence to support this assertion, although Conor Kostick accepts it as credible.[13] Colin Morris also agrees; he points out that the tenth book is considerably longer than any of the first nine books and was most likely written at a later date to bring the story up to the victory of the Christian forces near Ascalon on 12 August 1099.[14] Perhaps the omission of the death of Godfrey of Bouillon on 18 July 1100 by the author is an indication that the *Gesta Francorum*'s final pages were completed before that date. The absence of Godfrey's death contrasts strongly with the work's description of the election of Godfrey as ruler of Jerusalem on 23 July 1099 and his ascension as the 'Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre'.

Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of the analysis of the *Gesta Francorum* is Natasha Hodgson's suggestion that it parallels a chanson, as it has a bipolar theme of direct conflict between Christians and Muslims.[15]

Another key source is the *Historia Francorum*. Its author was Raymond of Aguilers, a canon of the cathedral church of St Mary of Le Puy[16] who in the course of the expedition became a chaplain to Raymond IV of Toulouse.[17] The *Historia Francorum* was written after the battle of Ascalon. John France argues that it was completed before the end of 1101.[18] The text was used as early as 1105 by Fulcher of Chartres.[19] Raymond of Aguilers's clerical training and his origins in the Le Puy region heavily influenced the perspective from which he wrote his work. In the text the author relies heavily on biblical references. He presents the crusade as a transcendental pilgrimage, an enterprise sanctified as an *iter Dei* by the miracles and visions God revealed to the participants which culminated in the fall of Jerusalem to the Christians.[20] In particular, his account of the discovery in Antioch of the Holy Lance can be seen as a literary device which made the editors of the *Historia Francorum* suggest that Raymond was 'the creator of most of the account rather than a naive reporter'.[21] A fundamental contribution by Raymond of Aguilers, however is his inclusion of information concerning the lower strata of crusader pilgrims who endured significant hardships on their march to the Holy Land. His text offers insights into 'the social tensions that existed during the expedition that would be almost indiscernible from the other sources'.[22] This perspective sets the work of Raymond of Aguilers apart from all the other early crusading narratives and offers insight into the lives of ordinary participants in the First Crusade.[23]

A third eyewitness sources was also written by a cleric. The *Historia Hierosolymitana* was written by a participant in the First Crusade, Fulcher of Chartres, who travelled in the entourage of Robert II of Normandy and Stephen of Blois.[24] Later he became a chaplain of Baldwin of Boulogne[25] and he reached Jerusalem in 1099. Fulcher lived in Jerusalem from November 1100, after the ascension of Baldwin of Boulogne to the throne.[26] Fulcher's work is known from two redactions. The first version of the *Historia Hierosolymitana* covers the events from the Council of Clermont (18–28 November 1095) until Baldwin I's victory at Ramleh (27 August 1105). This extensive account is based predominantly on his own experiences as an eyewitness and supplemented, according to the editor of his work, Heinrich Hagenmeyer, by evidence from the *Gesta Francorum* and the *Historia Francorum* of Raymond of Aguilers.[27] Hagenmeyer argues that Fulcher began his work in 1101 and finished the first redaction of the text before 1105 with the copies of his work circulating at that time.[28] It was certainly available to Guibert of Nogent who commented on it in his history.[29] The second redaction contained minor changes and was likely worked on by Fulcher up until at least 1124 because, as Verena Epp suggests, the style and approach of the author changed.[30] The end of the chronological narrative indicates that Fulcher died in 1127.

One of the key aspects of Fulcher's work is his commentary on the nature and role of Christian kingship. This element of the *Historia Hierosolymitana* gives a powerful infight into contemporary perceptions of their rulers. In his account of Baldwin's coronation on 25 December 1100, Fulcher concedes that in Jerusalem, where Christ was crowned with thorns, a prince can be crowned king; but he qualified his endorsement of kingship – a king was only king if he ruled justly.[31] For Fulcher, princes and subjects alike are part of God's providential plan.

Paupers can be raised from the dust and princes can be demoted.[32] Fulcher went further in his assessment of the unsuitability of princes to hold authority if they did not fear God, committed perjury or adultery.[33] An explanation behind Fulcher's critical voice against the contemporary practices can be explained by his adherence to the ideals of ecclesiastical reform pursued by Pope Urban II.[34]

Fulcher's settlement in Jerusalem influenced strongly his perception of life in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. He expresses opinions which were soon to became part of the mythology of the 'kingdom of conscience'; in the Holy Land, the poor were made wealthy by God and those with little wealth received riches by the grace of God.[35] Overall, Fulcher of Chartres's work offers significant detail about social interaction during the First Crusade and the early period of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. His preoccupation with the life of the poor may also indicate that he was writing a work of propaganda aimed at settler recruitment in support of maintaining a Christian stronghold in the Levant.

Early historians of the First Crusade

Among the early historians are three authors who reworked the *Gesta Francorum* to suit their needs. The *Historia Hierosolymitana* by was composed by Baldric, a monk and later abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Bourgeuil. Baldric was appointed Archbishop of Dol in 1107 and the *Historia Hierosolymitana* was probably written not long after his appointment.[36] Baldric's motivation to rework the *Gesta Francorum* was, argues Nicholas Paul, 'to suit the political and commemorative imperatives of the seigneurial family of Amboise'.[37] In his own words, Baldric used the *Gesta* to build his own version of crusader history for similar reasons as Guibert of Nogent and Robert the Monk. Baldric wanted to give this important subject its rightful place by presenting it in eloquent language.[38] The rewriting of the *Gesta Francorum* by Baldric resulted in a far richer, detailed and more vivid account whilst favouring the Christians' actions.

Baldric's account of the speech by Urban II however, suggests that he was also an eyewitness to the pope's speech at Clermont.[39] But he was not a crusade participant and in his prologue mentioned that his work included information from crusaders returning from the Holy Land.[40]

Baldric's interpretation of the events included a report on the speech of the envoys of Raymond of Toulouse at Clermont made not long after the announcement of the participation in the crusade of Adhémar, bishop of Le Puy.[41] Baldric makes reference to Moses and Aaron, which seems to be a deliberate allusion to the doctrine of the 'two swords'. Baldric applies this concept to the leadership of the crusade; the idea that the world is rightly subject to two authorities, firstly, the religious authority over ecclesiastical matters and secondly, the secular authority for the government of the people.

Baldric is also quite determined to present the social order of society as a set of mutual obligations between the upper and lower classes.[42] This perhaps idealistic vision or an expression of aspiration on behalf of Baldric finds its expression most strongly

in his commentary on the organization of the pilgrims of the First Crusade during the march to the Holy Land. In these passages he notes the mutual support, respect and cooperation of all social groups.[43] For Baldric the poor need to be taken care of by the wealthy because it is meritorious in the eyes of God. This is compared to Raymond of Aguilers who sees the poor as the chosen people of God.[44]

Another key early history is the *Historia Iherosolimitana* by Robert the Monk. It ranks among the most popular of the medieval histories of the First Crusade, judging from around a hundred surviving manuscripts. The *Historia Iherosolimitana* was written by a monk, Robert, who, apart from his testimony that he was present at the Council of Clermont (18–28 November 1095), was not a crusade participant.[45] Like Baldric of Dol, Robert used a range of unknown sources and these were likely to include eyewitness accounts from returning crusaders. His association with the Benedictine abbey of St-Rémi and identification with an Abbot Robert of St-Rémi is not proven, and is unlikely.[46] Similarly, the date of composition is uncertain, although it is likely that it was close to the date of the two other histories of the First Crusade as it is based on the *Gesta Francorum* by Baldric of Dol (c. 1107) and Guibert of Nogent (c. 1109). The probable use of Robert's work in the Magdeburg Charter of 1107/1108 had previously suggested the date of composition as around 1106. Marcus Bull and Damien Kempf in the new edition of the *Historia Iherosolimitana*, however, suggest a date of completion around 1110.[47]

In the prologue to the *Historia Iherosolimitana* Robert proclaimed that a work presenting the deeds of the First Crusade is pleasing to God. He went on to state that with the exception of the martyrdom of Christ, the success of crusaders was the most miraculous event since the creation of the world.[48] His text contains examples of the divinely inspired heroic achievements of the Christian pilgrims which Robert portrays as a fulfilment of God's promise to his people.

The third of the key histories of the First Crusade is the work by Guibert of Nogent. A native of Beauvais, he was a monk at the abbey of St Germer de Fly where he was educated.[49] From 1104 until his death in 1124 he was the abbot at the Benedictine monastery of Nogent-sous-Coucy. Guibert wrote the *Gesta Dei per Francos* by reworking the *Gesta Francorum*, but in contrast to Robert the Monk and Baldric of Dol, Guibert expanded his text by incorporating his own eyewitness account of the departure of the crusaders and from reports of pilgrims who returned home. Robert Huygens argues that the date of composition of Guibert's work is 1109.[50] In the *Gesta Dei per Francos* Guibert undertakes theological debates more often than any other early source for the First Crusade, which enriched his history with a range of historical information unknown from other sources.[51] Guibert claimed that 'God ordained holy wars in our time, so that the knightly order . . . might find a new way of earning salvation'.[52] This conviction is reflected in his attitude to rigid social hierarchy and the language of his history resonates with a sense of social order.

The *Historia Iherosolimitana* is the most extensive of the histories of the First Crusade and provides a great amount of detail from the time of the call for

the First Crusade to 1119. The *Historia* comprises 12 books written by one author referred to by convention as Albert of Aachen.[53] The author claims to have based his history principally on oral sources.[54] His accounts of the events present a picture of the life of pilgrims and uses many anecdotes. Whilst the text does not contain sophisticated biblical references or rhetorical oratory, Albert was persistent in using the term 'milites Christi' to describe the Christian warriors and he also used the term 'milites peregrini'. Another difference which distinguishes him from other early crusading historians is that his reporting was far more balanced in so far as he paid attention to the nobility and to the poor evenly. In contrast, the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* focused on the knights, Fulcher of Chartres focused on the nobility and Raymond of Aguilers on the poor.[55]

Gesta Principum Polonorum

A number of writers across Europe imitated the historians of the First Crusade, these later historians included Baldric of Dol, Robert the Monk and Guibert of Nogent, and like them aimed to rework popular eyewitness accounts of the First Crusade to give them a proper literary treatment and to leave to posterity a record of deeds worth imitating.

The *Gesta Principum Polonorum* is a narrative which was written between 1112 and 1118 by an anonymous monk in the service of the Polish court.[56] The *Gesta* is the oldest surviving written record of early Polish history containing accounts previously preserved in collective memory transmitted orally from generation to generation as well as eyewitness accounts of events. The *Gesta* became the narrative source for early Polish history and was followed by later generations of historians. It contributes to the understanding of how the Piast court established the Polish tradition of active participation in the expansion of Christendom, and specifically how it contributed to the development of a crusading tradition in north central Europe. The *Gesta* is a credible source which articulates the political programme and the ideas of the Polish ruler and his court, in particular the court's attitude to the conversion and conquest of its neighbouring pagans.[57]

The origins of the author of the *Gesta* are unknown. The sixteenth-century historian, Marcin Kromer (1512–1589), attributed the chronicle's authorship to a certain Frank or *Gallus*, whom he regarded as probably having been a monk.[58] This view has been generally accepted, and the *Gesta*'s author is known in historiography as Gallus Anonymus or simply Anonymus. Examination of the *Gesta*'s text provides further clues. The epistle of Book III indicates that he was not a Pole because he refers to himself as 'an exile and a sojourner' who expected to take the 'fruit of his labours' (the *Gesta*) back to his Benedictine convent.[59] It is also almost certain that he was from Western Europe and not Poland, Hungary, Germany or Bohemia. The author's knowledge of the early twelfth-century history of Hungary and his attachment to Saint Gilles suggest that he made his profession at the abbey of Saint Gilles in Provence, or at its Hungarian daughter house in Somogyvár (founded in 1091).[60] The association with the abbey of Saint Gilles places the *Gesta* within the formative

tradition of a monastic tradition which produced all of the most significant histories of the First Crusade.

Gallus's presence at the Piast court provided him with direct access to the material he recorded in the *Gesta*. It also placed him within the influence of the collective memory of the Piast dynasty and at the disposal of his patrons. In addition to providing an eyewitness account of the policies and activities of Bolesław III, the *Gesta* recounts events of Polish history based on oral tradition, thus recording, for the first time, history until then committed to memory and fashioned and refashioned through oral transmission.[61]

The transmission of information about the historical and mythical origins of the Piasts and their traditions situated and legitimized the identities and the standing of their descendants. They communicated social memories and transformed them according to the social and political context of the day. The oral sources of this history were probably the close advisers of Bolesław III, members of his extended family and the Polish episcopate. As a newcomer, Gallus' lack of knowledge of local history, geography and traditions would have made him reliant on the information provided by these patrons; he also no doubt had a specific commission to fulfil. The dedication of the *Gesta* to the chancellor points to him as not only the official who commissioned the work ('the maker of the task embarked upon'), but the person through whom the Piast dynastic tradition and the political programme of Bolesław III and his loyal supporters was transmitted, if not formulated.

The structure of the *Gesta* places Bolesław III as the natural and preordained successor to his glorious Piast ancestors, in particular, the wars fought by Bolesław against the pagan Pomeranians and Prussians through which the Polish ruler expanded the boundaries of Christendom. These extended military conflicts are portrayed as the predestined consequence of a number of events, which included: the baptism of Mieszko I in 966, the imperial visit to the shrine of Saint Adalbert in the year 1000, and the wars successfully concluded by Bolesław I before his coronation in 1025. Gallus calls on the collective memory of the Piasts and their subjects to represent the past glories of the dynasty for political purposes and social purposes. His narrative presents these events and traditions as honourable, glorious and longstanding. He refers to their dynasty as *dominis naturalibus*, the natural lords of Poland.[62] In the chronicle, resembling the prophesies of the Book of Daniel, the author describes the history of the Piasts as an act of the intervention of God in human affairs. The *Gesta* memorializes the deeds of the Piasts, propagating the notion that the dynasty had a preordained mission to rule Poland. Through their successes they were providing for Poland's greatness as well as bringing the Christian religion to north central Europe. This would appear a deliberate ploy to cement the myth of the Piast dynasty in the consciousness of the Polish elites. Gallus's use of memory is imaginative and builds on the assertions of a common past.

Gallus declares in Book I that the *Gesta* is an instructive history of the Poles illustrated by the achievement of their rulers; it is glorious 'to recite in schools and in palaces the triumphs and victories of dukes and kings' because they are 'exalted in triumphal wars and victories' and therefore their 'exploits and victories' 'fire the

hearts of soldiers to bravery when they are recited in schools and capitals'.[63] Its author wrote with awareness, if not the intention, that this work would inspire the warrior class into action. He wrote the *Gesta* during a period of active warfare against Pomerania and Prussia, at a time when the idea of crusade and the idea of Christian knighthood were propagated amongst the Polish elites through their increasing exposure to the practices of Latin Christendom. In the *Gesta*, it could be argued that the past serves a practical purpose to the present. The *Gesta* demonstrates the selective use and recoding of oral history memory by the author and his sponsors.[64] The deliberate construction of a narrative around these for the specific purpose of instruction and motivation of the work's readership make it arguably a dynastically sponsored major work of propaganda. It also places it amongst other contemporary works about the crusade.

Polish expansionist policy towards Pomerania and Prussia resulted in military campaigns as early as 1102–1106. In addition to being motivated by Bolesław's religious convictions, it provided his supporters with opportunities for booty and land. Furthermore, the provincial lords were provided with the prospect of a border free from Pomeranian pillaging raids.[65] The expansionist programmes of the Piasts and the Church were mutually reinforcing and the *Gesta* provides moral backing for the wars by drawing on the Old Testament, and presenting the conversion of these nations as Bolesław's primary objective. In the *Gesta* and in the Old Testament parables, warriors and their leaders trusted in God's commands. They successfully fought for the good of their people. Later, their examples featured in crusade model sermons.[66] Through usage of Old Testament stories Gallus's writing draws directly on the Christian concepts of holy war and just war. In the *Gesta* he gives the meaning to war as a transcendent activity which reconfirms the (pre-Christian) warrior tradition of the dynasty and firmly locates dynastic places of memory in the landscape of the collective memory of the Piast clients.

The military campaigns of Bolesław III are presented by Gallus as just wars according to the Augustinian formula. First, Bolesław's legitimacy is established. Second, the wars are represented as having been fought with the right intention (love for their neighbour manifested by the eradication of their idolatrous errors, assuring their salvation through baptism, and uniting them with the Church). Third, the outcome of these wars brought peace along Poland's northern border. The sins of the pagan idolaters and the harm they had caused to the virtuous Poles are described at length and are used to provide further justification for the conduct of the wars – broadly, the removal of potential physical and spiritual harm to Christians. By drawing on biblical exemplars in the style of Saint Augustine, Gallus provided justification for the wars using the formula for Christian holy war.

Strong biblical antecedents are present in Gallus's narrative. Bolesław III is depicted as the leader of God's people, the imitator of the Maccabees. The Piast ruler is the protector of Poland who 'imitating the Maccabees' defends 'his country and avenges his injury'.[67] Gallus invokes the imagery of the Maccabees who were already portrayed as the proto-crusaders in papal documents and in the narrative sources of the First Crusade as fighters ready to die for their religion. For example, in the *Historia Hierosolymitana*, Fulcher of Chartres offers direct comparisons between the crusaders and the Maccabees. Similar references are found in the crusading bull

of Pope Eugenius III.[68] Comparisons between the crusaders and the wars of the Israelites can also be found in the work of Raymond of Aguilers as a model of the heroic defence of holy places.[69]

The *Gesta* (uses a similar approach to Augustine and his Old Testament examples), in so far as the wars by the Poles against the pagans were inspired by God, were waged at God's command, and in deciding moments of battle God assisted the Poles.[70]

Gallus draws on conventions of how the wars of the Israelites in the Old Testament are portrayed in the Bible and makes a distinction between the wars that are victorious (God delivers victory to his people) and the wars where the Poles are defeated (a sign of God's wrath due to the sinful actions of the Poles themselves). For example, the Poles suffer defeat after they 'had violated the observance of Lent',[71] and when they invaded Pomerania on the Feast of Saint Michael the Archangel, thus neglecting to properly celebrate one of the important holy days of the year.[72] In another example, according to Gallus, the Poles were not victorious in the battle of Kołobrzeg because 'the vast wealth and booty of the suburbs blinded the ardour of the soldiers, and so Fortune saved their city from the Poles'.[73] Again, Bolesław fell into a Pomeranian trap after participating in an event which displeased God; here Gallus adopts a didactic tone instructing Bolesław (and therefore the *Gesta*'s readership) to obey the laws of the Church.[74]

The *Gesta*'s motif of God's intervention, control and command (all elements of holy war) resemble the demonstrations of divine intervention witnessed during the First Crusade and continue a much longer tradition in the writing of Christian history.

In the *Gesta*, Gallus seeks to cement the memory that Bolesław is an instrument in the hands of God because 'if God were not with this man, he would never grant him so great a victory over the pagans'.[75] Gallus's depictions of Bolesław's actions present them as forming part of God's plan and fulfilling God's wishes. Bolesław's instrumental role in God's design for Poland and Christendom thus creates a myth, an indispensable part of the Piast dynasty's heritage, which gives him a leading role in the expansion of Christendom. It is highly likely that from this proto-crusading tradition Bolesław's heirs and successors drew inspiration in their attempts to follow the example of their father. His charisma and reputation as an invincible warrior, as witnessed and propagated by Gallus and other chroniclers such as Herbord, were held up as a model for the Polish elites. They also provided a basis for memorialization in the form of the legend of a ruler who with his own sword defended, cemented and extended his patrimony. In addition, Bolesław successfully combined the Piast dynastic policy of securing the Polish northern frontier with the goal of bringing the Cross to these pagan nations who had most obstinately refused evangelization.[76]

The difficulty of the task, meant, however, that the conquest of Pomerania was spread over two decades. Bolesław's initial victory over the Pomeranians after the Battle of Nakło in 1109 did not last, in all probability because of the civil war between Bolesław and his half-brother. The Poles took control of eastern Pomerania in 1116, and western Pomerania between 1119 and 1123. Gallus, who was present at Bolesław's court during these campaigns, implicitly accorded them the

status of holy wars, as noted above. Divine grace and favour are present in Gallus's description of the decisive battle between the Poles and the Pomeranians, the siege of Czarnków in 1108, a regional centre in Pomerania.[77]

Gallus depicts Bolesław as a truly Christian ruler who acts literally as a sponsor to the leading Pomeranian converts, who destroys their sinful pride, and offers them peace. Gallus's depiction of the behaviour of the pagan leaders, who abandon their idols when they prove powerless against the army of God, echoes the *Song of Roland*'s representation of the Saracens destroying the symbols of their faith.[78] In the *Gesta*, the emphasis on the conversion and propagation of the faith adds to Bolesław's qualities as a warrior of Christ who delivers salvation to the pagans.

According to Gallus, God is on the side of the Christian Poles and is supporting his knights during the Pomeranian campaign. It is, by divine command, therefore, that the Poles are victorious. For Gallus, as for Herbord, it is natural that 'it pleased God to obliterate some of Pomeranians so others may be converted to the faith'.[79] The Poles are to extinguish the Pomeranians' error and idolatry, proclaims Gallus,[80] just as Ralph of Caen exclaimed 'that pilgrimage, that glorious struggle . . . which extinguished idolatry and restored the faith'.[81] The wars with Pomerania are held up as exemplars of just wars, and are presented by Gallus as a pattern to follow.

Gallus's account of the conquest of Pomerania bears similarities to the portrayal of the actions of the crusaders during the First Crusade. The *Gesta* recounts Bolesław III's prayer asking for 'God's favour and the intercession of Saint Lawrence' so the 'idolatry of the Pomeranians and their martial pride be crushed'.[82] Like Raymond of Aguilers, who in describing of the capture of Jerusalem by the Christians in 1099 wrote that men rode in blood up to their knees and bridle reins, Gallus highlights the enormous size of casualties amongst the pagans in his description of the battle of Nakło on 10 August 1109.[83]

In his narrative about Nakło, Gallus invoked the intercession of the saint whose feast was celebrated on the day of the battle and shows no horror at the large number of casualties. On the contrary, the author of the *Gesta* exalts God and Saint Lawrence for bringing so bloody a victory, invoking their assistance in the same vein as a decade earlier the crusaders had proclaimed that Antioch was captured with the great mercy and support of God.

For the chroniclers of the First Crusade, the saints were pre-eminent in imparting physical signs of God's approval.[84] Similarly, in the *Gesta* miracles attributed to the saints were perceived as the active intervention of God in human affairs. One of the most spectacular examples of heavenly assistance described in the *Gesta* was offered to the Poles by Saint Adalbert on the eve of the consecration of the cathedral in Gniezno (1 May 1097).[85] According to Gallus, the saint rescued the Poles from imminent death when he appeared as 'an armed figure mounted on a white horse' in front of the Pomeranians. The attackers, who with drawn swords were awaiting a signal to attack the Poles, were struck with terror and driven out of the castle by the saint.[86] The apparition of the patron saint of Poland to aid his people in defence against the pagans is significant. Saint Adalbert was the first missionary of the Baltic coastline and his cult was encouraged and developed by the nascent Church in Poland as a part of the Christianization of Polish northern territories.[87] Gallus's

Gesta contains a direct reassurance for any present and future Polish crusaders – that their saint, the apostle of the Prussians, Saint Adalbert, will intercede in heaven on their behalf because their cause is right. In an analogous approach, Robert the Monk reminded the crusaders of the attributes of Saint George the 'undefeated soldier', and 'standard-bearer' of their army.

The author of the *Gesta* draws on the shared identity of Latin Christians to construct the Pomeranians as the enemy by providing antagonistic differences between them and the Poles. This is particularly striking when taking into account that the Pomeranians and Poles considered each other as kindred until the late tenth century. The Pomeranians are consistently referred to by Gallus in ways that label them the 'evil outsider'. This formulaic characterization of 'us' and 'them' is comparable with the descriptions of Saracens in Western sources such as the *chansons de geste*.

Conclusion

The outpouring of writing that closely followed the events of the First Crusade are symptomatic of an almost universal need on the part of contemporaries to record the extraordinary events which touched all strata of society and in the decades that followed to understand and find meaning to their experiences. The events coincided with the flourishing of literacy amongst the elites and the writings of chroniclers and historians of these times became the key sources for centuries to come. An excellent example of this process of memorialization and its lasting impact is the *Gesta principum Polonorum*. The *Gesta* is a valuable early source intended by its sponsors and author to be a record of the Piasts in general. In particular, it focused on Bolesław III's special place in a divine plan for humanity and the Piasts' holy mission. Bolesław's ancestry, a strong pro-Christian dynasty which is credited with the conversion of Poland, and the myth surrounding him, was crucial to the proliferation of the idea of crusade in Poland, most significantly through the establishment of the family tradition of crusading among his Piast descendants. An examination of the *Gesta*'s portrayal of the conversion of Pomerania (1102–1128) provides an example of the 'successful' fusion of coercion and mission which characterized proto-crusading activity in the region. It was under the auspices of Saint Adalbert, slain by pagan Prussians, that holy war crusading brought triumph to the Poles along the Baltic shore.

The *Gesta* represents an act of making history through writing. It gives meaning to orally transmitted cultural memory through the historical act of writing by a commissioned author. In this process memory of individuals characterized by subjectivity is reworked into the key narrative which corresponds to the intentions of the author's patron. Gallus's work also represents the practice of memory as it collates and stores the past.

Gallus presents his audience with the conquest of Pomerania as a just war in accordance with the Augustinian principles of just cause, right intention and legitimate authority. The conquest was in response to Pomeranian pillaging raids and incursions into Poland, and therefore wars against the pagan Pomeranians were

fought to redress the wrongs suffered. The Poles fought these wars with the intention of restoring peace and military actions were conducted under the command of Bolesław III of Poland. To highlight the just nature of such wars, Gallus employed direct comparisons between 'the right and just' wars staged by Bolesław III and the 'quite unjust' 1109 invasion of Poland by Emperor Henry V.[88] The war against pagans, according to Gallus, fitted the definition of just war, whilst the wars led by the emperor against a Christian nation were not justified.

Gallus's portrayal of the Pomeranians confirms that they possess what Augustine described as 'love of violence, revengeful cruelty, fierce and implacable enmity, wild resistance, and the lust of power'.[89] Thus, they embody the greatest evils which, according to Augustine, manifest themselves during war. Through its narrative of the events of the war, and in particular the behaviour of the pagans, the *Gesta* reaffirmed the Augustinian argument that 'good men undertake wars when they find themselves in such a position as regards the conduct of human affairs' and to punish these 'greatest evils'.

The *Gesta* provides significant evidence of Polish participation in Christian holy war. The wars of Bolesław against his pagan neighbours established a pattern of proto-crusading activity (conquest followed by conversion through missionary activity), and were significantly different from the earlier incidents of warfare between the Poles and Pomeranians. The *Gesta* successfully incorporated the wars against the Pomeranians into the universal Christian struggle against the pagans and established the Piast crusader tradition which became a powerful dynastic heritage. Ultimately, Gallus framed the holy war against the Pomeranians into a highly respected institution for the victorious eradication of paganism. His successful history writing inspired future generations and justified the expansion of the Polish state by conquest with divine sanction.

Notes

1 Marcus G. Bull and Norman Housley, eds, *The Experience of Crusading: Western Approaches*, 2 vols, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 14.
2 Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London: Athlone, 1986), 135–52.
3 Jean Flori, *Chroniqueurs et propagandistes: Introduction critique aux sources de la Première croisade*, Hautes études médiévales et modernes 98 (Geneve: Droz, 2010); Jay Rubenstein, 'Putting history to use: three crusade chronicles in context', *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 35 (2004): 131–68; Nicholas L. Paul, 'Crusade, memory, and regional politics in twelfth-century Amboise', *Journal of Medieval History* 31 (2005): 127–41. See also Susan Edgington, 'The First Crusade: reviewing the evidence', in *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, ed. Jonathan Phillips (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 55–77; Jonathan Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 19–28.
4 Marcus Graham Bull and D. Kempf, *Writing the Early Crusades: Text, Transmission and Memory* (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2014). See also Megan Cassidy-Welch and Anne E. Lester, *Crusades and Memory: Rethinking Past and Present* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015).
5 Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, trans. Lewis A. Coser, The Heritage of Sociology (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 43–54.

6 Marcus Bull, 'Robert the monk and his source(s)', in *Writing the Early Crusades: Text, Transmission and Memory*, ed. Marcus Bull and Damien Kempf (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014), 127.
7 Rosalind M.T. Hill, *The Deeds of the Franks and the Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, Medieval Texts (London and New York: T. Nelson, 1962). An earlier edition was produced by Heinrich Hagenmeyer, ed., *Anonymi gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1890).
8 Hill, *The Deeds of the Franks and the Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, xi–xii.
9 Colin Morris, 'Policy and visions—the case of the Holy Lance at Antioch', in *War and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of J.O. Prestwich*, ed. John Gillingham and J.C. Holt (Cambridge: Boydell, 1984), 33–45, here 36, n. 12.
10 Jay Rubenstein, ;What is the Gesta Francorum, and who was Peter Tudebode?', *Revue Mabillon* 16 (2005): 179–204, here 187.
11 Conor Kostick, *The Social Structure of the First Crusade* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 15.
12 Hill, *The Deeds of the Franks and the Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, ix.
13 Kostick, *The Social Structure of the First Crusade*, 10.
14 Morris, 'Policy and visions', 37, n. 14.
15 Natasha R. Hodgson, 'The role of Kerbogha's mother in the Gesta Francorum and selected chronicles of the First Crusade', in *Gendering the Crusades*, ed. Susan Edgington and Sarah Lambert (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 163–76.
16 John France, *A Critical Edition of the Historia Francorum of Raymond of Aguilers* (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Nottingham, 1967), 11–12, 17.
17 France, *The Historia Francorum*, 100, 202.
18 France, *The Historia Francorum*, cxxxviii–cxxxix, 354.
19 France, *The Historia Francorum*, cxxxix.
20 France, *The Historia Francorum*, 59, 202. Also Kostick, *The Social Structure of the First Crusade*, 28.
21 John Hugh Hill and Laurita Lyttleton Hill, *Raymond IV, Count of Toulouse* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1962), 109. A contrary opinion in Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 1st edn, 3 vols, vol. 1 (London: Folio Society, 1994), 272.
22 Kostick, *The Social Structure of the First Crusade*, 30.
23 Kostick, *The Social Structure of the First Crusade*, 39.
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25 *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana, 1095–1127*, I.xiv.2, I.xiv.15.
26 *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana, 1095–1127*, II.v.12.
27 *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana, 1095–1127*, 66.
28 *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana, 1095–1127*, 46.
29 Robert B.C. Huygens, ed., *Dei gesta per Francos et cinq autres textes*, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis 127A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), 329.
30 Verena Epp, *Fulcher von Chartres: Studien zur Geschichtsschreibung des ersten Kreuzzuges* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1990), 11.
31 *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana, 1095–1127*, II.vi.1. See also Alan V. Murray, 'The title of Godfrey of Bouillon as Ruler of Jerusalem', *Collegium Medievale* (1990): 163–78, and Kostick, *The Social Structure of the First Crusade*, 42–3.
32 *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana, 1095–1127*, III.xxiv.16.
33 *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana, 1095–1127*, III.xxi.4.
34 Kostick, *The Social Structure of the First Crusade*, 42.
35 *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana, 1095–1127*, III.xxxvii.6.
36 'Baldrici, episcopi Dolensis, Historia Jerosolimitana', in *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens occidentaux 4* (Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 1844–1895), 1–111, here iii, vi, 5, 8.
37 Paul, 'Crusade, memory, and regional politics in twelfth-century Amboise', 127.
38 BD 10.
39 BD 14.

40 BD xi–xii.
41 BD 16.
42 BD 45–6.
43 BD 9.
44 Kostick, *The Social Structure of the First Crusade*, 60–1.
45 'Historia Iherosolimitana', in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens occidentaux* (Paris: Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1841–1906; reprint, 1995), 717–882, here 725.
46 Carol Sweetenham, ed., *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 3–4.
47 Peter Knoch, 'Kreuzzug und Siedlung. Studien zum Aufruf der Magdeburger Kirche von 1108', *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands* 23 (1974): 1–33, here 6–21. Cf. Giles Constable,'Early crusading in eastern Germany: the Magdeburg Charter of 1107/8', in *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 197–214. Damien Kempf and Marcus Bull, eds, *The Historia Iherosolimitana of Robert the Monk* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2013), xxxv–xxxviii.
48 RM 723.
49 Jay Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent: Portrait of a Medieval Mind* (New York and London: Routledge, 2002).
50 Huygens, *Dei gesta per Francos et cinq autres textes*, 349–50. See also Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent*, 95–6.
51 Kostick, *The Social Structure of the First Crusade*, 75.
52 GN 87: Instituit nostro tempore praelia sancta deus, ut ordo equestris et vulgus oberrans, qui vetustae paganitatis exemplo in mutuas versabantur cedes, novum repperirent salutis promerendae genus.
53 Susan Edgington, ed., *Historia Ierosolimitana: History of the Journey to Jerusalem* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), xxiii–iv.
54 Edgington, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, i.1, iii.2. Cf. John France, *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 381.
55 Kostick, *The Social Structure of the First Crusade*, 93.
56 *Gesta Principum Polonorum*, Central European Medieval Texts 3 (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2003), I:Epist, p. 2. See also Darius von Güttner-Sporzyński, *Poland, Holy War, and the Piast Monarchy, 1100–1230*, Europa Sacra 14 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 77–106.
57 Jacek Banaszkiewicz,'Tradycje dynastyczno-plemienne Słowiańszczyzny północnej', in *Ziemie polskie w X wieku i ich znaczenie w kształtowaniu się nowej mapy Europy*, ed. Henryk Samsonowicz (Kraków: Uniwersitas, 2000), 277; Pascal Boyer, *Tradition as Truth and Communication: A Cognitive Description of Traditional Discourse*, Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology 68 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 1–23.
58 Kromer made a comment to this effect on a page of a manuscript of the *Gesta* in his possession. The *Gesta* is known from three late-medieval copies of the original manuscript: Codex Zamoyscianus, produced 1380–92 (Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, MS BOZ cim 28, fols 20v–54v); Codex of Sędziwoj, produced 1434–39 (Kraków, The Princes Czartoryskis' Library, MS 1310, fols 242–307); Heilsberg Codex, produced 1469–71 (Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, MS 8006, fols 119–247).
59 *Gesta*, iii:Epist., p. 210.
60 The hypothesis that Gallus belonged to the Benedictine order is generally accepted in historiography. Marian Plezia, *Kronika Galla na tle historiografii XII wieku* [The Chronicle of Gallus Anonymus in the Context of the Historiography of the Twelfth Century] (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1947), 152–5. The debate about the origin of the figure known as Gallus has been inconclusive. His Frankish origins were generally accepted, but have been recently challenged with the argument that the author of the *Gesta* was a monk from Venice. See Tomasz Jasiński, *O pochodzeniu Galla Anonima* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Avalon, 2008).

61 Indicative of this are Gallus's references to 'narrant seniores antiqui'. *Gesta*, i:3, p. 22. Also, to 'que fidelis recordatio meminit'. *Gesta*, i:3, p. 24. Cf. Michał Tymowski, 'Oral tradition, dynastic legend and legitimisation of ducal power in the process of the formation of the Polish state', in *Ideology and the Formation of Early States*, ed. Henri J.M. Claessen and Jarich G. Oosten, Studies in Human Society (New York: Brill, 1996), 242–54.
62 *Gesta*, i:19, p. 81; ii:16, p. 147.
63 'Ita gloriosum est in scolis vel in palatiis regum ac ducum triumphos vel victorias recitare'. *Gesta*, iii:Epist., p. 212. 'Ita militie vel victorie regum atque ducum ad virtutem militum animos accendunt, in scolis vel in capitoliis recitate . . . Sic defensores honorem patrie famamque dilatare student et gloriam temporalem.' *Gesta*, iii:Epist., p. 214.
64 Patrick J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton and Chichester: Princeton University Press, 1994).
65 *Gesta*, ii:14, p. 141; ii:44, p. 201; ii:47–8, pp. 204–7; iii:1, pp. 220–7.
66 Christoph T. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 55.
67 'Tum vero Bolezlauus in dubio magno pependit, utrum prius de recenti contumelia se debeat continuo vindicare, an ab invasoribus suam patriam liberare.' *Gesta*, ii:34, p. 180. Cf. 1 Macc. 5:17–21. Vincentius, Bishop of Kraków, invoked the same analogy. 'Neutrum tamen negligit fidelis Machabeorum imitator. Nam et quos in Pomeraniam destinat, de Pomoranis victoriam referunt.' *Chronica Polonorum*. 15 vols, Monumenta Poloniae Historica. Nova Series 11 (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1994), ii:28.3, p. 74. 'Quem ergo aut illum Boleslai precursorem,aut hos Machabei iuvenes estimare potes, nisi summe, nisi superexcellentis omnipotentie ministros?' *Chronica Polonorum*, iii:15.1–2, p. 101.
68 PL 180, cols 1064–66.
69 Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270*, Medieval Academy Books 98 (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1991), 28–30.
70 *Gesta*, ii:19, p. 154.
71 'Quod flagellum Deus, ut credimus, omnipotens in transgressoribus observancie quadragesimalis ad correccionem exercuit, sicut quibusdam postea de ipso liberatis periculo revelavit.' *Gesta*, ii:2, p. 120.
72 *Gesta*, ii:3, p. 120.
73 *Gesta*, ii:28, pp. 166–8.
74 'Deo displicuerit cum divinis nupcias carnales celebrari, facile potest per discrimina, que sepius inde contingunt, comprobari.' *Gesta*, ii:33, p. 176.
75 'Nisi Deus hunc hominem adiuvaret, nunquam tantam de paganis victoriam ei daret.' *Gesta*, iii:12, p. 242.
76 *Gesta*, ii:33, p. 181.
77 *Gesta*, ii:44, p. 200.
78 Cf. John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 33, 105–6.
79 'Sed quia Deo placuit aliquos ex eis conterere, ut ceteros ad fidem converteret, ingenium et vires contra eos Bolezlao ministravit, ita ut multis et magnis cladibus eos frequenter afficeret.' *Herbordi dialogus de vita s. Ottonis episcopi Babenbergensis*. Monumenta Poloniae Historica. Nova Series 7 (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1974), ii:5, p. 68.
80 *Gesta*, iii:1, p. 224.
81 'Felix illa peregrinatio, sudor ille gloriosus, qui matri nostrae Iherusalem haereditatem suam restituit, idolatriam exstinxit, fidem reparavit.''Gesta Tancredi in expeditione Hierosolymitana, auctore Radulfo Cadomensi, ejus familiari', in *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens occidentaux* (Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 1844–1895), 603.
82 'Hodie, Deo favente, sanctoque Laurencio deprecante, Pomoranorum ydolatria ac militaris superbia vestris ensibus conteretur.' *Gesta*, iii:1, p. 224.
83 'De christianis ibi quidam probi milites cadunt, paganorum vero de XL milibus decem milia vix evadunt. Testor Deum, ope cuius sanctumque Laurentium, prece cuius facta fuerit ista cedes. Ammirabantur, qui aderant, quomodo tam subito a militibus minus mille

peracta fuerit tanta strages. Dicuntur enim ipsi Pomorani certo numero computasse de suis ibi XXVII milia corruisse, quod in paludibus interessent, nec illi quidem sic evadere potuissent.' *Gesta*, iii:1, p. 224.

84 Cf. Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade*, 54.

85 *Gesta*, ii:6, p. 130.

86 'Et quoniam ecclesie mencio Gneznensis in hoc fieri forte contigerit, non est dignum preterire miraculum, quod in vigilia dedicacionis preciosus martir Adalbertus et paganis et christianis ostenderit. Accidit autem eadem nocte in quoddam castrum Polonorum quosdam traditores eiusdem castri Pomoranos sursum funibus recepisse, eosque receptos in propugnaculis diem crastinum ad oppidanorum perniciem expectasse. Sed ille, qui semper vigilat, nunquam dormitabit, oppidanos dormientes sui militis Adalberti vigilantia custodivit et paganos in insidiis christianorum vigilantes armorum terror spiritualium agitavit. Apparuit namque quidam super album equum Pomoranis armatus, qui gladio eos extracto territabat, eosque per gradus et solium castri precipites agitabat. Sicque procul dubio castellani, clamoribus paganorum et tumultibus excitati, defensione gloriosi martiris Adalberti ab imminenti sunt mortis periculo liberati. Hec ad presens de sancto dixisse sufficiat et ad intervallum superius nostre stilus intentionis incipiat.' *Gesta*, ii:6, p. 130.

87 The details of the life and of the activities of Saint Adalbert of Prague are known from *Sancti Adalberti Pragensis episcopi et martyris vita altera auctore Brunone Querfurtensis* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1969). Cf. *Gesta*, p. xxviii, n. 33.

88 'Ipse quidem cum paganis bella gerit licita, Sed nos contra christianos germus illicita.' *Gesta*, iii:11, p. 242.

89 Augustine, Contra Faustum Manichaeum, PL 42, xxii:74, col. 447.

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7

"PERPETUEL MEMORYE"

Remembering history in the crusading romance

Lee Manion

The romance was the prominent form of narrative fiction in Western Europe from the later Middle Ages into the Renaissance, so it is perhaps unsurprising that this fluid genre, encompassing stories of conquest, adventure, or aristocratic love in the vernacular, engaged with another broadly influential cultural practice: crusading.[1] Nonetheless, the extent of this engagement and its implications for our understanding of the literary and historical past has only begun to be explored. While the romance's impact in the medieval period has long been acknowledged, current studies have started to elucidate the genre's continuing vitality in the early modern period by eschewing restrictive notions of literary worth and by examining how such works could reinforce, appropriate, or challenge cultural norms. Crusading also has received renewed scholarly attention, which has provided a fuller picture of its effects on various aspects of cultural production, including art, trade, liturgy, preaching, and history, as well as of its range, which extended from more familiar military campaigns to capture Jerusalem to smaller expeditions or individual journeys in Iberia, Italy, and the Baltic.[2] Furthermore, crusading activity and discourse continued well into the Renaissance despite the challenges of the Protestant Reformation to papal authority. In the early modern period crusading practices and narratives were adapted to describe the conflicts with the powerful Ottoman Turks and to construct a Christian or European identity, indicating how modernity is less of a decisive break with the medieval past than is typically understood and reflected in academic period boundaries.[3] In other words, in the medieval and early modern periods the memory of crusading—including celebrated ancestors, devotional obligations, claims to dominion, and a conceptual framework opposing Christian to non-Christian—remained central to the ecclesiastical institution as well as to crusading's popular refractions. Further investigation of the evolving relationship between romances and crusading can benefit historical and literary studies by showing how vernacular literature can transmit particular kinds of group memories, not

necessarily statically or uncritically, and how those memories can influence political action or individual behavior.

Crusading memories were presented in historical and imaginative writing throughout the later Middle Ages and into the Renaissance as part of narratives that could commemorate, promote, or even critique the behavior of knights and leaders across Christian realms and that negotiated crusading's persistent tension between individual and collective interests. This connection of crusading memory, narrative, and potential social criticism exists because, as Megan Cassidy-Welch and Anne Lester explain, "memory imparts narrative coherence" to the past and is itself "an historical act."[4] As textual artifacts mediating collective and individual memories through their composition, reading, oral recitation, manuscript transmission, and in some cases eventual printing, crusading romances employed their narratives for a variety of purposes. They could recall or construct genealogical, linguistic, or protonationalistic identity; create memorial places or a crusading geography that ascribed great significance to certain locations or routes for pilgrimage, trade, and war; propagate official or subversive narratives of crusading's goals; define what it means to be a crusader; and seek to locate crusading within a longer tradition of Christian warfare or sacred history.

To grasp the multiple ways in which crusading romances responded to and affected medieval and early modern culture, one first must determine what qualifies as a crusading romance. Though seemingly a narrow problem of taxonomy, this genre question has implications for our understanding of the relationship between religious and chivalric ideals as well as between ecclesiastical and popular forms of piety across much of Europe. Accordingly, this chapter first discusses how crusading romances have been defined in recent scholarship, dividing studies schematically into what I call "imitative," "rhetorical," and "descriptive" approaches. These designations are intended to provide an overview and to point out some areas for further research. A promising addition to these approaches is the concept of crusading memory, which is not about tracing lines of influence between texts but instead is a means for identifying and examining how allusions to or representations of historical crusading, memorial images, and audience reception work together to produce a textual resource for generating new actions and narratives. This chapter illustrates the utility of studying crusading memory with a brief look at examples from several linguistic traditions: the anonymous French *La Chanson d'Antioche* [The Song of Antioch] (c. 1200), Wolfram von Eschenbach's incomplete German *Willehalm* (c. 1220), and William Caxton's English *Godeffroy of Boloyne, or The Siege and Conqueste of Jherusalem* (1481) and *The Lyf of the Noble and Crysten Prynce, Charles the Grete* (1485). In particular, Caxton's two romances attempt to establish what Caxton calls the "perpetuel memorye" of previous crusaders.[5] But the romances hold up the example of the past, particularly the Christian heroes of the tradition known as the Nine Worthies, to promulgate crusade ideology and to urge contemporary rulers and nobles to emulate those deeds. In this sense, Caxton's emphasis on the connection of memory, writing, and action demonstrates how crusading memory and its textual production are "perpetuel" not just in the sense of being "lasting" but also

as perpetuating, as "occurring in endless succession."[6] That is, Caxton's narratives, along with the *Antioche* and *Willehalm*, which are not typically discussed as crusading romances, participate in the continual renegotiation of the past, fabricating collective crusading memories that engage with historical crusading concerns and are also intended to cause action in their present.

Approaches to the crusading romance

The problem of defining the crusading romance in some respects parallels the problem still facing historians in determining what counts as a crusade. The definition of a crusade remains unresolved partly because medieval and early modern people did not use one term or explanation for it and partly because crusading itself was never monolithic, so that various academic definitions seem more accurate than others at certain stages in crusading's long history from the eleventh to the seventeenth centuries.[7] Similar challenges exist for the crusading romance, since there is little theoretical discussion of the romance genre in the Middle Ages and a lack of precision in Renaissance categories.[8] Even so, crusading engendered a significant literary output; the resulting texts reveal contemporary mentalities and attest to ongoing interest in crusading due to their persistence over time.

Studies of the crusading romance can be divided roughly into three approaches: an "imitative" approach that defines crusading romances primarily by their content, including narratives which represent actual crusade campaigns or personages or that depict other historical battles as Crusades; a "rhetorical" one that does not see crusading romances as a distinct group and instead discusses their crusading allusions or themes, aligning them with other forms of cultural expression; and a "descriptive" one that attempts to classify crusading romances through a combination of content and form, focusing on the genre's coherence and evolution within a linguistic tradition as well as its response to key features of crusade discourse. The imitative approach generally considers a limited group of literary works alongside historical crusade texts and events, concluding that crusading romances function as propaganda or seek to inspire certain behaviors. By comparison, the rhetorical model draws upon a wider array of materials, such as lyrics, satires, chronicles, and devotional treatises, and tends to view crusading events or ideas as a means for literary texts to discuss something else, such as heresy, nationalism, alterity, spiritual reform, or war among Christians. Finally, the descriptive approach treats crusade discourse as a complex, conflicting set of ideas articulated in ecclesiastical documents, religious rituals, visual art, popular piety, and historical or literary texts; it uses those ideas to identify repeated crusading features in certain romances, which constitute a sub-genre recognizable to medieval or early modern audiences and engaged with crusading's shifting political problems.

The differences among these approaches can be illustrated by a summary of the treatment of *Richard Cœur de Lion* (c. 1300), a Middle English crusading romance relating the exaggerated deeds of Richard I of England on the Third Crusade (1189–92), in recent criticism. For instance, John Finlayson's argument that the

romance is in fact a historical "epic" and is "much more firmly based in history than is usually recognized" aligns mainly with the imitative model because he compares the poem's narrative to the history of the Third Crusade while also noting its glorification of ancestral heroes and Christian militancy.[9] By contrast, Geraldine Heng, Suzanne Conklin Akbari, and Suzanne Yeager apply rhetorical approaches to the romance by interpreting its crusading narrative as being primarily about nationalism and community. Heng, for example, in her larger study of the romance as a fantasy responding to cultural trauma, argues that *Richard Cœur de Lion* is a "nationalist romance" that creates an English community through a racializing, imperialist discourse figured by cannibalism and humor. Akbari reads the poem's constitution of national identity differently, contending that it adopts a "eucharistic symbolism" that relies on an "orthodox theology." And Yeager, whose book compares representations and uses of the city of Jerusalem across various kinds of texts, agrees that Richard is a "national hero" but finds that the poem employs its "crusade rhetoric" to "encourage its audience's support of the Anglo-French war."[10] These rhetorical approaches differ from Lee Manion's descriptive one, which identifies the poem's use of several formal features of the genre of the crusading romance and which analyzes the narrative as offering its own "imagined solution" to the problem of crusading leadership—a problem that resonates with and connects the poem to later English romances participating in this sub-genre.[11] Though these interpretations vary significantly, the ability of *Richard Cœur de Lion* to support such divergent views plausibly speaks less to an academic penchant for disputation and more to a rich ambiguity in crusading's meaning, even in a romance that had long been ignored as ahistorical and crude. While these examples are drawn from scholarship on English writing, comparable divisions exist for other linguistic traditions, and it may be the case that some approaches accommodate the surviving evidence better in different vernaculars.[12]

In addition to their diverse methods and conclusions, the imitative, rhetorical, and descriptive approaches also offer varying pictures of the crusading romance as a genre: as a small set of propagandistic romances of holy warfare; as a function or strategy of large group of disparate romance and non-romance texts; or as a moderately sized group of romances about individual or military adventures that are shaped by audience expectations and capable of making social commentary on crusading.[13] In other words, each approach examines certain kinds of materials and presumes something different about their relationship. This divergence cannot be resolved easily by appealing to historical crusading practices and concepts, since at times crusading was promoted through coordinated propaganda aimed at producing a military campaign, yet it also permeated medieval culture in a general way and was employed for pointed social critique. In this sense, crusading's variety resists being contained by a singular methodology. It is here that crusading memory can be a constructive concept for further study. Future scholarship could employ an expanded notion of crusading memory as a collective "memory" of historical persons, wars, and places as well as of imagined actions and images to examine the relationship among crusade history, crusading's narrative-generating power, and

those narratives' reception. Such research might avoid some of the limitations of the imitative and rhetorical approaches, which perhaps too readily marginalize crusading narratives or subsume them into more modern concerns, as well as that of the descriptive approach, which tends to concentrate on a single linguistic literary tradition, though crusading memory's achronological interests do not supplant the refined historicizing engagement of the other methods.

The uses of crusading memory

Crusading memory is useful for analyzing crusading concepts in diverse literary narratives. *La Chanson d'Antioche* and Wolfram's *Willehalm* generally are not understood as crusading romances, yet given their use of crusading features in accounts of holy war, they should be included in this larger discussion. Indeed, crusading romances may have a broader significance than any single language study can reveal. For this reason, a database of medieval and Renaissance crusading romances across linguistic traditions, perhaps one building off the valuable work at *The Crusades Project*, is a necessary apparatus for further investigation of crusading memory and its literary manifestations.[14] The *Antioche* and *Willehalm*, together with Caxton's romances, variously combine exhortation and emulation with memorial images linking religious war and individual salvation. Examining their use of crusading memory reveals crusading's lasting imaginative influence, as certain figures (e.g., Godfrey, Charlemagne, William of Orange), places (e.g., Antioch, Jerusalem), or events (e.g., conversion or miraculous tombs) become emblematic of different kinds of crusading activity and act as a resource for deliberating on crusading practices and ideals.

La Chanson d'Antioche is part of a series known today as the Old French Crusade Cycle, though it was likely first composed separately. The cycle, particularly the core treatment of the First Crusade (1095–9), was popular into the fourteenth century and was turned into a prose version in the fifteenth.[15] Typically the *Antioche* is identified as a *chanson de geste* [song of deeds] or an epic, which normally is understood as distinct from the romance because of certain genre elements, such as oral markers, a formulaic style and vocabulary, and a masculine world of combat. Although formerly the *chanson de geste* was thought to have been supplanted by the romance, recent research has demonstrated that the two genres continued to evolve and influence each other throughout the thirteenth century.[16] Due to this generic overlap and the narrative function of crusading memory, we should consider the *Antioche* and associated works as crusading romances, or at least close relatives thereof. The *Antioche* in particular combines multiple functions of crusading memory—commemorative, incitative, and performative—while also creating its own ideological memory about crusading's origins.

In its opening the *Antioche* invites the audience to identify with and imitate its heroes, with the characters serving as exemplary models.[17] The narrator argues that these "good examples" can help the audience, who live "in a wicked era, full of treachery," to find the right path by going on crusade to kill non-believers, save

oppressed Christians, and earn salvation.[18] These initial appeals and the subsequent portrayal of nearly all the leaders of the First Crusade as noble warriors devoted to God are recollective and exhortatory uses of crusading memory, as they set a standard of behavior for the current audience to follow and criticize contemporary behavior, noting specifically that among the crusaders "there was not a shadow of treachery . . . nor politicking nor envy."[19] As the text stresses multiple times, the poem is the "best song" because it is of "true knightly achievements" and will leave the audience "the better for it" when they die.[20] Though it would be reductive to call the poem mere propaganda, the *Antioche*, comparable to a crusade sermon, does promote continued crusading activity through the memory of historical crusaders and events, but it also attempts to reform contemporary behavior through implicit and explicit critique.

At the same time, the poem's focus on the city of Antioch invokes a performative aspect of crusading memory by appearing to speak to other cultural concerns, especially interest in pilgrimage and devotional objects. That is, in contrast to many historical sources, which emphasize the significance of Jerusalem in defining and shaping crusading practices, the *Antioche* only describes Jerusalem briefly, using its possession by Muslims and the pollution of the Holy Sepulcher as motivation for knights. Instead, the majority of the poem's geographical attention is on Antioch and its river, bridge, mountain, and port. The *Antioche*'s detailed account of the city's many gates and towers, which are situated in relationship to Byzantium and Jerusalem, lends the city a religious spatiality and significance that is heightened by a mistaken association of one of the towers with the Christian legend of the Seven Sleepers.[21] Additionally, once the crusaders capture the city, the discovery of the Holy Lance, the spear used by Longinus at the Crucifixion, provides a powerful relic that strengthens the crusaders' resolve and guarantees victory in battle. Through these descriptions and events, the city itself becomes a kind of holy object that rightly belongs to the Christians; beyond its link with the crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, then, Antioch acquires a memorial connection to pilgrimage or sacred history.

Nevertheless, this link to sacred history through the city's geography, including its hidden relic, is part of a larger web of memorial associations that result in an ideological crusading memory correlating the First Crusade with earlier Christian history, including Jesus himself. At several points the *Antioche* sets the First Crusade alongside Carolingian history; Godfrey, for example, is described as a descendent of Charlemagne, implying that he is continuing a tradition of holy warfare described in earlier literary narratives such as *La Chanson de Roland*. The *Antioche* also alludes to the epic cycle about William of Orange, a relative of Charlemagne, which similarly features religious combat and conversion.[22] This memorial web of religious warfare is extended further into the past when the poem presents the crusaders' vengeance for Jesus's death as parallel to the historical destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE by the Roman leaders Titus and Vespasian, who are envisaged as Christians inspired to punish those who killed Jesus.[23] Finally, the poem justifies the First Crusade with invented biblical history, imagining the crucified Jesus telling the

repentant thief that in a thousand years a people will "revenge" him against the "wicked pagans" and will acquire "heavenly Paradise."[24] These connections invite the audience to recall other narratives, literary and sacred, to understand the First Crusade not as "first" at all, but as something both astonishing and long anticipated. In this way the *Antioche* creates a crusading memory that differs significantly from some early clerical accounts, which did rely on biblical support but which acknowledged crusading's novelty.[25] The *Antioche*, by contrast, relates crusading to Christianity's origins, asserting that because Christians are named after Jesus they "have a duty to remember" his sufferings, which means that "Christians should take the sign of the Cross . . . and seek revenge on the descendants of the Antichrist."[26] The *Antioche*'s ideological crusading memory is an interpretative framework that carries implications for future audiences: as long as there are Christians, it seems, there must be crusading.

While the *Antioche* employs several kinds of crusading memory to evoke the past, critique the present, and devise a potent image of crusading's origins, Wolfram von Eschenbach's incomplete *Willehalm*, adapted from a French *chanson de geste*, offers a more ambivalent look at holy war. The story is set in southern France near the historical William's region of Toulouse. It recounts the initial defeat of Willehalm's forces at Alischanz (i.e., Arles) by the numerically superior forces of Terramer, Muslim leader and father of Willehalm's converted bride Giburc, and Willehalm's subsequent journey to seek aid from King Louis, son of Charlemagne, culminating with Willehalm's return to Orange to rescue Giburc and his victory over Terramer. *Willehalm* has been described as a mixed or hybrid text, drawing on the genres of epic, romance, and hagiography.[27] Nonetheless, the text is better understood as a crusading romance which, as with the role of crusaders themselves, combined devotional suffering with the celebration of martial prowess and conquest in precisely such a hybrid manner. As recent scholarship has shown, *Willehalm* already is engaged with crusading narratives because it responds to another German text, the *Rolandslied* (c. 1170) by the cleric Conrad, who transformed *La Chanson de Roland* [The Song of Roland] (c. 1100) with biblical references and Bernard of Clairvaux's ideas about the Templars.[28] Beyond this link, Wolfram's text actively constructs memorial images that condense several crusading debates. One key example is the plight and speech of Giburc, Willehalm's converted wife and the cause for the religious war, on Christians' behavior toward their Muslim opponents; another is the contrast between the miraculous appearance of tombs to hold slain Christians on the battlefield, which hinder the Muslim forces and create a literal and figurative memorial for crusaders, with the burial of the dead Muslim leaders.

In distinction to the *Antioche*, where conversion only involves men and is portrayed as enabling the capture of the city by the Christian God's divine action, Wolfram's story makes the conversion of Giburc, called Arabel before her baptism, and her abandonment of her Muslim family a central issue with lasting ramifications for interreligious interactions. While *Willehelm* begins with Giburc already having converted and fled with Willehalm, the text returns to the topic repeatedly to frame the two major battles and to lament the slaughter occurring on both sides.

Addressing her as "Arabel-Giburc, one woman with two names," Wolfram's narrator comments on the positive and tragic implications of her conversion, acknowledging how her family members, including Tibalt, her first (Muslim) husband, strike "at baptism, but those who are fighting for Christianity do not refrain from striking at the race of your birth either . . . The Queen was innocent, she who once was called Arabel and who abandoned that name in favour of baptism."[29] The importance of Giburc as a memorial image is twofold: first, she demonstrates a potential goal of crusading, the successful conversion of non-Christians, here brought about by love and human persuasion rather than divine instigation, that expands the church and increases Christian territory; second, though her commitment to Christianity never wavers, her dual identity as Arabel-Giburc and her ties to the Christian and Muslim sides produce sympathy for her father, the noble Terramer, and his Muslim followers. In a theologically challenging and much debated speech before the second battle, Giburc appeals to the Christian warriors, who have just taken "the Cross with one accord" to serve "Almighty God" and to seek vengeance for the earlier defeat, asking them to spare the lives of the defeated Muslims.[30] Challenging the crusading notion that these warriors would earn salvation through combat, Giburc asks them to "act so that your salvation will be assured" when victorious and "spare the creatures of God's hand," meaning to spare their opponents, since biblical figures such as Adam, Noah, and Job were all "heathen" and "we were all . . . heathens once" until baptism.[31] This sentiment is undercut by the leaders' lack of response, as they simply leave the assembly, as well as by the subsequent "murderous slaughter," which shows little attempt to spare anyone, though some hostages are taken.[32] Nonetheless, Giburc's prominence and appeal for mercy distinguish *Willehalm* from texts such as the *Antioche* by offering a powerful image that questions or revises crusading priorities—one echoed by the narrator's subsequent statement that it is "a sin to slaughter like cattle those who have never received baptism . . . for they are all the creatures of God's hand," calling attention to the salvation of others' souls and the church's proselytizing role.[33]

As Giburc's plea reveals, *Willehalm* deliberates on the relationship between crusading and conversion by thinking about the fate of the defeated and dead on both sides. Wolfram's narrative extends this thought by connecting the striking crusading memory of the converted Giburc to two scenes involving monuments and tombs that also memorialize crusading in a complex fashion. In the first scene, as Terramer prepares his forces for the second battle, he complains that:

> The Christians think it is to their credit that Jesus, the sorcerer, has strewn their battlefield with many sarcophagi. Their flesh and bones lie in there still undecayed. He who wore the thorny wreath, that savage hat, on the Cross has worked such wonders for them.[34]

Here the dead Christians from the first battle have been miraculously preserved and entombed by Jesus, and their sarcophagi hinder Terramer's forces. These literal memorials of the "blessed dead," which are mentioned again when the Muslims

are defeated and flee past them to their ships, serve multiple purposes, since they represent the heavenly reward promised to crusaders, they remind others to seek vengeance for their deaths, and they function metonymically as holy objects or relics by their association with the crown of thorns, "that savage hat."[35] Furthermore, the sarcophagi may have a kind of geographical memorial significance, as they were likely based on the Roman cemetery at Arles, which in the medieval period was thought to mark the site of Willehalm's battles.[36]

But Wolfram unsettles the apparently simplistic commemorative aspects of these crusader tombs sent by God with another scene focused on the memorial function of burial, for after the second battle Willehalm tells one of the captured Muslim kings to search the battlefield for Giburc's kin so that they may be "embalmed liberally . . . and lie in state regally."[37] That is, Willehalm creates a memorial for the slain Muslim leaders, showing the importance of memory to both sides, because, as he explains, at the end of the battle he found that Terramer had caused "twenty-three biers and an equal number of slain kings lying there with their crowns" to be made with their names written on "an epitaph on a broad tablet of gold" before his departure.[38] Terramer's attempt to remember his own dead appears to modify Willehalm's desire for vengeance and sadness over his losses; perhaps now recalling Giburc's appeal to spare the unbaptized, Willehalm sends these dead Muslim kings back to Terramer to show "respect for his family."[39] The crusading memory of *Willehalm*, then, while still presenting crusading and Christianity as ultimately correct and victorious, nonetheless adapts conventional motifs such as the readily converted Muslim princess or battlefield miracles to challenge views of crusading that ignore the humanity of its opponents and forget the goal of increasing the faith. It is perhaps appropriate, then, that after the second battle the text breaks off, leaving both the response of Terramer to Willehalm's message and the situation of the potential convert Rennewart, Terramer's son and a mighty warrior for the Christian side, still unknown. In general, while the *Antioche* and *Willehalm* deserve more extensive study than is possible here, each employs memorial images in a crusading narrative to do more than reflect crusade history or doctrine. In this respect, these texts' investments in crusading's origins, conversion, tombs, and holy relics or sites indicate the merits of exploring crusading memory across several linguistic traditions and alongside crusading romances.

Caxton and cyclical crusading memory

By concluding with Caxton's *Godeffroy of Boloyne* and *Charles the Grete*, I seek to emphasize how crusading memory is not simply an inevitable aspect of narratives that retell crusading events or actions, but was something acknowledged and occasionally deliberately shaped by authors and audiences. *Godeffroy* and *Charles the Grete* are crusading romances not only because of their content, which, as with the *Antioche* and *Willehalm*, adapts actual events from the First Crusade or the Carolingian past into stories of religious conflict, but also because of their focus on miracles, relics, churches, conversion, and rescuing oppressed Christians as part of

a larger history of Christian holy warfare. Nonetheless, apart from his choice to translate and print the stories, Caxton is not directly responsible for most of these narrative features.[40] *Godeffroy* is a translation of a French version of William of Tyre's Latin history of the Holy Land and the First Crusade, and *Charles the Grete* is a translation of a French compilation combining the *Fierabras* story with a version of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*. Of course, the texts' status as fairly close translations would not diminish their impact on English audiences, who would receive their depictions of Christian heroes battling non-believers as producing exemplary crusading memories centered on Godfrey and Charlemagne. Thus, when in semi-legendary fashion *Godeffroy* recounts the Byzantines' loss of the Holy Land, the launching of the crusade, the crusaders' capture of Nicaea, Antioch, and Jerusalem, and Godfrey's election as ruler and death, the story constructs for its audience a memorial image about crusading's purpose through its portrayal of Godfrey as a devoted, mighty warrior who is not distracted by the conquest of other cities and who is the first to breach Jerusalem's walls. Similarly, when *Charles the Grete* moves from the Christianization of the French monarchs to Charlemagne's birth and character, it sets the subsequent narrative of Charlemagne's imaginary capture of the Holy Land and his multiple conquests in Iberia in the context of divine and ecclesiastical conversion while detailing the attributes of an ideal Christian ruler. On the whole, both texts attest to the memorial work of renegotiating the crusading past in new contexts—in this case, the production of "medieval" narratives about Christians' larger purpose with the "modern" printing press during a time of civil strife in England.

More significant, however, are the ways in which Caxton attempts to shape the reception of these crusading narratives in his prologues and epilogues, which explicitly address the influence of memory on the present. Caxton perhaps is best known today for his printing of Thomas Malory's *Le Morte Darthur* (1485), but as William Kuskin has argued, this work should not be considered in isolation from *Godeffroy* and *Charles the Grete* because Caxton regarded them as part of a "broader critical program" involving the Nine Worthies, a motif of pagan, Jewish, and Christian warriors that included as its three Christian heroes Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godfrey.[41] As Kuskin explains, "Caxton uses the Nine Worthies to call for a fifteenth-century crusade while printing indulgences for just such an excursion," but this packaging was not simply a "marketing strategy" but "an imaginative system . . . within the larger political economy."[42] Joerg Fichte has also commented on Caxton's crusading interests, finding that *Godeffroy* is "characterised by a sense of urgency: the realisation that it was high time for the princes of Christian Europe to make a concerted effort to fight the Turks," and noting Caxton's emphasis on "the similarity between the present historical situation and that at the time of Godfrey of Bouillon."[43] Building on Kuskin and Fichte's ideas about Caxton's imaginative system and his association of the crusading past with the present, I contend that we understand the prologues and epilogues as reflecting on the multiple functions of crusading memory. In other words, Caxton's texts not only confirm the importance of studying memory in crusade discourse but also provide valuable

evidence for viewing crusading romances as textual resources that generate "perpetuel memorye."

The prologues and epilogues to *Godeffroy* and *Charles the Grete* assert the exemplary value of the past in relationship to individual behavior and to current religious struggles by describing a cyclical process of memory, a word repeated (with close synonyms) ten times in total and echoed by other recurring terms for fame and history. In other words, for Caxton memory connects history to action in a way that affects his readers but that also becomes a more general property of narration about the past. The prologue to *Godeffroy* begins by claiming that noble deeds and persons should be "put in memorye / and wreton" so that they may be praised and become "Inmortal."[44] This use of memory and writing to record and recognize laudable behavior also benefits contemporary readers, since Caxton argues in *Godeffroy* that noble histories move "Redars and hierers" to "flee werkes vycious, dishonnest and vytuperable" and to "accomplysshe enterpryses honnestes" and in *Charles the Grete* that "the werkes of the auncient and olde peple ben for to gyue to vs ensaumple to lyue in good & vertuous operacions."[45] Here Caxton defends the ethical significance of romance material for readers, which will teach them through "ensaumple" to pursue good "enterpryses." Yet these rather conventional justifications are not simply about readers avoiding sin because these two applications of memory—to record past heroes and to better oneself—are linked when, as Caxton claims, readers then will attempt great deeds and so "lyue in remembraunce perpetuel" themselves.[46] For Caxton, memory, writing, and reading constitute an evolving cycle that results in readers' new actions, which in turn become new memories for narration and emulation.

This memorial cycle is the reason why, Caxton continues, "thystoryagraphes" [historiographers] write books; specifically, however, it explains why he has translated the stories of Godfrey and Charlemagne, since their narratives enable contemporary audiences, as well as Caxton himself, to participate in a kind of crusading activity made possible by Caxton's adaptation of the motif of the Nine Worthies.[47] In his prologue to *Godeffroy*, Caxton first declares that the narrative's crusading memory will move readers—especially Christian leaders—to fight in "goddes quarell" and maintain "holy chirche" as well as to fight for "the recuperacion of the holy land" and for "the releef of suche cristen men as there dwelle in grete . . . thraldomm" before turning to an account of the Nine Worthies, the "worthy & best that euer were."[48] Caxton's juxtaposition and immediate association of the historicizing motif of the Nine Worthies with crusading ideals and action via Godfrey indicates how crusading memory could be employed by medieval and early modern authors to promote or criticize certain behaviors. That is, after introducing Godfrey, Caxton critiques contemporary rulers' lack of interest in battling the Ottoman Turks, who have advanced further than Christendom's opponents in Godfrey's time, capturing Constantinople and attacking Rhodes and Italy, "[t]o the resistence of whom, as yet, fewe Cristen prynces haue put theym in deuoyr [i.e., done their duty]."[49] This criticism is less direct in *Charles the Grete*, where Caxton holds up Charlemagne as an ideal ruler whose deeds were for the "exaltacyon of the crysten fayth and to the confusyon

of the hethen sarazyns and myscreaunts, whiche is a werk wel contemplatyf for to lyue wel," but is still implicit in the idea that Charlemagne's story is "for prouffyte of euery man."[50] Perhaps most striking, though, is how Caxton's prologues and epilogues enfold his own activity as a translator and publisher into this memorial cycle and its resulting textual resources aimed at producing new crusaders. In the epilogue to *Charles the Grete* Caxton writes, "I haue put me in deuoyr to translate thys sayd book," and in the prologue to *Godeffroy* he notes "I haue emprysed [undertaken] to translate this book of the conquest of Iherusalem."[51] In each instance the particular word choices of "deuoyr" and "empryse" repeat terms used elsewhere to signify the duty of Christian princes to combat infidels as well as potential new attempts to do so, such as when Caxton comments about leaders not doing their duty or when he hopes that Edward IV will command a captain to "empryse this warre agayn the sayd turke & hethen peple."[52] In this way Caxton's work as a romance historiographer becomes, as it were, his "deuoyr" or contribution to the crusading effort, one that was prompted by his own reading about Godfrey and Charlemagne. This sort of contribution from translators, authors, and readers may appear to be an evasion of real military commitment, but at a time when large-scale crusading activity was difficult to organize the transmission of crusading memory could seem valuable in itself; for Caxton, whether these narratives result in individual armed action or not is less important than having "euery man in his partye endeuoyre [endeavor] theym vnto the . . . recuperacion of the . . . holy londe," with the word "endeuoyre" echoing the dutiful "deuoyr" of princes and authors.[53]

Overall Caxton's crusading romances are notable because of their status as early printed texts in England and because they are framed explicitly with a conception of memory as a narrative-generating device that adapts the crusading past to influence behavior. These romances, as with the cognate examples of *La Chanson d'Antioche* and Wolfram's *Willehalm*, promulgate views on religious warfare, its justification, and its problems for new audiences, and in so doing they reveal how crusading memory is "perpetuel" and evolving by demanding that readers respond and contribute to connections between past and present circumstances. Crusading romances, paralleling the activities of crusaders themselves, included stories of armies engaged in holy war or tales of an individual or small groups earning salvation through combat. Further study of this variety across linguistic traditions and time periods through the established imitative, rhetorical, and descriptive approaches as well as through crusading memory can provide a better sense of the debates over what crusading meant, how such practices should be conducted, and the purpose of Christian society while also revealing potential links across several modes of cultural production.

Notes

1 On the romance see Barbara Fuchs, *Romance* (New York: Routledge, 2004) and Helen Cooper, *The English Romance in Time: Transforming Motifs from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the Death of Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

2 See, for instance, Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2006).

3 Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), and Benedict S. Robinson, *Islam and Early Modern English Literature: The Politics of Romance from Spenser to Milton* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
4 Megan Cassidy-Welch and Anne E. Lester, "Memory and Interpretation: New Approaches to the Study of the Crusades," *Journal of Medieval History* 40.3 (2014): 225–36, at 231.
5 William Caxton, *Godeffroy of Boloyne*, ed. Mary Noyes Colvin, EETS e.s. 64 (London, 1893), 1.
6 See "perpetual, adj., adv., and n." in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (Oxford University Press, 2015), def. 2a., accessed April 25, 2015.
7 Giles Constable, "The Historiography of the Crusades," in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. A.E. Laiou and R.P. Mottahedeh (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2001), 1–22, and Norman Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (Malden: Blackwell, 2006), 1–23.
8 See Cooper, *English Romance in Time*, 7–40; Fuchs, *Romance*, 37–98; and Rosalie L. Colie, *The Resources of Kind: Genre-Theory in the Renaissance*, ed. Barbara K. Lewalski (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973).
9 John Finlayson, "*Richard, Coer de Lyon*: Romance, History or Something in Between?" *Studies in Philology* 87.2 (1990): 156–80, at 164 and 176.
10 Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 72; Suzanne Conklin Akbari, "The Hunger for National Identity in *Richard Coer de Lion*," in *Reading Medieval Culture: Essays in Honor of Robert W. Hanning*, ed. Robert M. Stein and Sandra Pierson Prior (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), 198–227, at 199 and 218; and Suzanne Yeager, *Jerusalem in Medieval Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 75–6.
11 Lee Manion, *Narrating the Crusades: Loss and Recovery in Medieval and Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 56.
12 For instance, in studies of French crusading literature Norman Daniel, in *Heroes and Saracens: An Interpretation of the* Chansons de Geste (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1984), mainly employs an imitative approach, finding that the *chansons de geste* do not reflect history or function as crusade propaganda. Lynn Ramey, in *Christian, Saracen and Genre in Medieval French Literature* (New York: Routledge, 2001), adopts more of a rhetorical approach in her study of the Saracens as Others used to construct national identity or community across genres. D.A. Trotter, in *Medieval French Literature and the Crusades (1100–1300)* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1988), applies a descriptive approach which, despite the inclusion of multiple literary genres, uses crusade discourse to examine the development of a generic tradition and its potential criticism of contemporary crusading, though his conclusion that "The crusades are present in Old French literature but they are neither as ubiquitous nor as influential as has generally been assumed," at 249 is somewhat misleading given the book's more restrictive definition of crusading. For a study that blends the rhetorical and descriptive approaches, see Sharon Kinoshita, *Medieval Boundaries: Rethinking Difference in Old French Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), who attends to the "cultural work" being done by epic and romance texts about crusading encounters and through various motifs in connection to historical developments; citation at 236.
13 On romance as a strategy see Fuchs, *Romance*, 9, and on romance as defined by motifs or memes, see Cooper, *English Romance in Time*, 3–7.
14 *The Crusades Project*, ed. Leila K. Norako (University of Rochester, 2015), accessed April 25, 2015, http://d.lib.rochester.edu/crusades.
15 *The* Chanson d'Antioche: *An Old French Account of the First Crusade*, trans. Susan B. Edgington and Carol Sweetenham (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 3–48.
16 Sarah Kay, *The* Chansons de geste *in the Age of Romance: Political Fictions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 1–21.
17 On the poem's exemplary and historicizing functions, see Carol Sweetenham, "How History Became Epic but Lost Its Identity on the Way: The Half-Life of the First Crusade Epic in Romance Literature," *Olifant* 25.1–2 (2006): 435–52, at 442–3.

18 *The* Chanson d'Antioche, trans. Edgington and Sweetenham, 101 and 105.
19 Ibid., 104.
20 Ibid., 102, 104, and 106.
21 Ibid., 177.
22 Ibid., 277 and 316.
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27 See Annette Volfing, "*Parzival* and *Willehalm*: Narrative Continuity?" in *Wolfram's "Willehalm": Fifteen Essays*, ed. Martin H. Jones and Timothy McFarland (Rochester: Camden House, 2002), 45–59, at 45–6.
28 Jeffrey Ashcroft, "'dicke Karel wart genant': Konrad's *Rolandslied* and the Transmission of Authority and Legitimacy in Wolfram's *Willehalm*," in ibid., 21–43.
29 Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Willehalm*, trans. Marion E. Gibbs and Sidney M. Johnson (New York: Penguin, 1984), 30.
30 Ibid., 154; see Timothy McFarland, "Giburc's Dilemma: Parents and Children, Baptism and Salvation," in *Wolfram's "Willehalm,"* ed. Jones and McFarland, 121–42.
31 Wolfram, *Willehalm*, trans. Gibbs and Johnson, 155–6.
32 Ibid., 197.
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PART III

Communities of memory

8

MONASTIC MEMORIES OF THE EARLY CRUSADING MOVEMENT

Katherine Allen Smith

As much as medieval monastic communities asserted themselves to be in the world, but not of it, the early crusading movement intruded upon the lives of religious men and women in numerous ways. Monks, canons, and nuns supported the early crusading movement in a variety of roles: as the Jerusalemites' financiers; as participants in the expeditions to the east; as chroniclers and critics of holy war; as custodians of the bodies of fallen pilgrims or sacred objects they brought home; and as sanctuaries for crusaders who viewed monastic conversion as a natural next step. As a result, monasteries became repositories of crusading memory where the stories of individual crusaders were preserved and the larger narrative of Jerusalem's conquest and subsequent loss was endlessly glossed.[1] These crusading stories, adorned with exegetical commentary and framed with an eye towards institutional self-interest, became a central part of the commemorative cultures of medieval religious houses.

In the past three decades historians have turned their attention to reconstructing crusaders' motives and mentalities, and, in so doing, revealed the value of textual sources produced in monastic contexts – especially charters and works of hagiography – for the study of crusading.[2] Much of this work has read monastic sources 'against the grain' to recover the motivations of lay and especially knightly crusaders, with the result that we now possess a much more nuanced understanding of why the holy war appealed to warrior elites and of the dialectical relationship between the medieval church's presentation of crusading ideology and the active, often challenging responses of contemporary *milites*.[3] In recent years, scholars have begun to read charters, hagiography and other sources as evidence of specifically monastic responses to crusading, and have found these to be more complex and ambivalent than might be expected.[4]

A full study of monastic responses to crusading must take memory into account, given that the textual and ritual practices through which religious communities made sense of the Crusades were essentially commemorative in nature, and that the

preservation and transmission of memories was a central goal of monastic life. The monastic art of memory, as practiced in the Latin West during the central middle ages, was essential to the organization of knowledge and the investment of events with meaning more generally,[5] and to the making of monastic crusading memories: that is, to the purposeful remembering, preservation, and reuse of stories about crusaders. Although individuals were responsible for different stages of this process, the monastic commemoration of crusading was a communal endeavor, in that it reflected the interests and experiences of institutions, as well as a social endeavor, in that religious men and women who preserved the memory of crusading thereby made sense of this enterprise in historical and moral terms.[6] Thus we might distinguish between crusading *memory* as the personal recollections of individual religious (or of their patrons or kin), out of which a monastic community collectively forged its own *remembrance* or *commemoration* of crusading.[7] As we will see, these commemorations of crusading were imbued with the social values, spiritual ideals, and historical aesthetics particular to the cloister, and were also dynamic, reflecting a selective and creative approach to commemorating the past.[8]

Elsewhere in this volume Cecilia Gaposchkin and Anne Lester show how religious communities constructed and sustained social memories of the crusading movement through liturgical programs and physical objects bequeathed by returning crusaders. This chapter considers the related question of how non-liturgical texts and textual traditions mediated the remembrance of crusading in medieval monastic communities in the century or so following the initial preaching of the armed pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1095, an issue that has thus far attracted less scholarly attention than it deserves. It offers examples of how monastic crusading memories inform the most common textual genres produced in monastic scriptoria, and suggests how we might better integrate monastic crusading memory into the fields of monastic history and Crusades studies.

Commemorating the Crusades in sacred time

Much of the narrative work of making sense of the early Crusades as events and symbols was done in religious houses. As Marcus Bull reminds us, "To write about the crusade was not simply to register its existence, but also to frame formal understandings that discarded what was judged irrelevant, excluded counter-interpretations, tidied up loose ends, and worked towards some form of closure."[9] Preserved in cartularies, hagiography, sermons, and chronicles, these interpretive decisions became part of institutional remembrances of crusading that were augmented over time. As recent work by Damien Kempf and Nicholas Paul has shown, this process entailed the purposeful acquisition, editing, and dissemination of crusading texts by religious communities, whose members were keenly aware of how such mnemonic projects could serve the interests of powerful lay patrons.[10]

Monastic commemorations of crusading were clearly shaped by political considerations. Lionizing a local crusading hero or defending a maligned but well-connected *crucesignatus* could be a good investment in the future for a community

seeking to cement patronage networks. For instance, Nicholas Paul has shown how the monks of Fleury's production of crusade narratives served the interests of the Norman crusader Bohemond of Antioch and his Capetian in-laws,[11] while Daniel Roach has called attention to Orderic Vitalis' politically motivated defense of the infamous 'rope walkers' who had abandoned the siege of Antioch.[12] Monastic remembrances of crusaders were also preserved for economic reasons, as in the numerous charters recording departing pilgrims' donations of lands or privileges to religious houses. While these charters have been mined especially for information about crusaders' motivations and financial arrangements, they also show how monastic communities commemorated the preaching of the Crusades as well as pivotal events in the holy land.[13]

Monastic authors were equally motivated to commemorate the Crusades for spiritual or ideological reasons. Remembering and reflecting on victories, defeats, or miraculous happenings in the east allowed monastic thinkers to address questions about the nature of divine intervention in human affairs and the progression of sacred time that had always interested Christians. In these interpretive endeavors, writers drew upon the training in textual interpretation that was the foundation of monastic education, and produced remembrances of crusading that were exegetical, in two senses. First, for monastic writers steeped in the art of biblical exegesis it was only natural to treat the holy wars like sacred texts and subject them to the same kind of careful analysis, thereby revealing multiple layers of meaning – historical, moral, typological, and eschatological. Second, monastic commemorations of the Crusades added to the extant corpus of biblical exegesis by encouraging the reevaluation of biblical passages and forging new connections between biblical events and events from the recent past.[14]

Monastic writers were accustomed to defining relationships between different eras or world-ages typologically, so that the Old Testament was believed to prefigure the New, and contemporary events could be read – indeed, demanded to be read – in relation to earlier exemplars and as fulfillments of ancient prophecies. In this way of thinking, no event was truly unprecedented, and the narrative of human history was fully integrated into the long arc of sacred time.[15] Thus, even as monastic observers recognized the novelty of the early crusading movement, blending as it did armed violence with pilgrimage, spiritual with physical warfare, they simultaneously asserted the crusaders' status as new Israelites and new apostles. Given that the object of the early Crusades was the recovery of the "land flowing with milk and honey" (Exodus 3:8) which God had promised to Moses, it was natural for monastic writers to commemorate these expeditions as reenactments of the Exodus narrative and the wars of the ancient Israelites. In the chronicles of the First Crusade, Adhemar of Le Puy and Raymond of Toulouse were cast, respectively, as a second Moses and Aaron, and the crusaders' enemies as reincarnations of the idolatrous Jebusites and Amalekites.[16] The crusaders were also remembered as new apostles, who had, like their predecessors, literally followed Christ's admonition that "every one that has left house, or brothers, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands for my name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold reward,

and possess life everlasting" (Matthew 19:29); in fact, this passage quickly became a shorthand for describing the whole crusading enterprise.[17] Some monastic writers even credited the first crusaders with refounding the primitive church. In the early twelfth century, the Benedictine Baldric of Bourgueil wrote that the Jerusalemites had created "a *community of all goods* to such an extent that hardly any man could call anything his own; as in the early church, nearly *all things were common to them* (Acts 4:32)" and each member of the army was held to the strictest standards of moral conduct.[18] The First Crusade was still remembered as an apostolic venture a century later, when another Benedictine, Arnold of Lübeck, used the identical biblical passage in his account of the 1097 Siege of Nicaea to underscore the crusaders' willingness to die for one another.[19]

For medieval monastic writers the commemoration of the recent crusading past was prompted by, and no doubt served to heighten, their anticipation of the coming end of the world. Thus, monastic remembrances of crusading were inherently both typological and backward-looking, and eschatological and forward-looking. The Crusades were worth remembering because they offered important clues to God's plan for humanity as the current sixth, and last pre-apocalyptic age of the world neared its end. Jay Rubenstein has shown that in the aftermath of the First Crusade some monastic exegetes speculated that the sixth age had ended with the spectacularly violent sack of Jerusalem in July 1099, and that the end times had thus begun.[20] Other writers who were less certain that the crusade had inaugurated the apocalypse still noted the obvious eschatological significance of the Christian conquests as events that fulfilled various scriptural prophecies. Monastic apologists who supported crusading in the decades after 1099 were motivated at least in part by a conviction that pressing work remained to be done before the second coming, and that this work depended on Christians' continued possession of the sites of Christ's passion, above all the Holy Sepulchre.[21] Similarly, Bernard of Clairvaux's enthusiastic support for the Second Crusade reflected both his hope that this enterprise could facilitate the conversion of 'heathens' on multiple fronts – that is, Muslims in the Levant and pagans in the Baltic – and his concern that little time remained in which to accomplish this before the appearance of Antichrist.[22] Such responses to the holy war remind us that for Bernard and his monastic contemporaries the future – a story whose contours could be traced in the biblical canon by those trained to discern them – was as much a part of medieval memory as the past.

Crusading memory and monastic morality

Monastic crusading not only situated historical events and actors within sacred time, but evaluated these in terms of a Christian moral economy that was at once biblically grounded and informed by present-day social and institutional realities. Indeed, these two impulses were complementary, and we might consider moral readings of crusading as one layer of the monastic glosses that were also concerned with the holy war's historical, typological, and eschatological dimensions. In monastic

intellectual milieux the Crusades were remembered as divine judgments upon participants and, by extension, the remainder of Christendom. From the vantage point of the 1160s, the canon Gerhoh of Reichersberg was confident that the astonishing success of the First Crusade reflected God's mercy on its deserving organizers and participants, whom "the word of Christ had led to victory" because they had set aside their feuds in order "to exert themselves to seize the holy city and the Lord's Sepulchre from the gentiles." He was equally certain that the depressing failure of the Second Crusade showed God had tested that generation of crusaders and found them wanting.[23]

The crusading movement also drew attention to the relationship between different ways of living as a Christian in the fallen world, even as it threatened to blur the boundaries between what were traditionally distinct callings. The ambiguity of crusaders' legal, social, and spiritual status – somewhere between that of laypeople and monks – elicited monastic responses ranging from enthusiasm to exasperation.[24] William Purkis' work on Caesarius of Heisterbach suggests that even monastic writers who were broadly supportive of the crusading project selectively preserved stories that reinforced crusading's status as a lay penitential activity, one decidedly inferior to monastic life.[25] This tendency may have been encouraged by the fact that the keepers of crusade memories in many communities were men who had donned the habit after discharging earlier crusading vows, and so embodied the conviction that crusading took a distant second place to the monastic vocation. But these veterans did not forget their crusading pasts upon becoming monks; on the contrary, some of them appear to have dined out on their crusading adventures for years. A twelfth-century miracle from the Norman abbey of Bec that recounts how a group of crusaders was saved from shipwreck was told to the hagiographer by "a certain Norman knight named Richard, son of Fulk the elder of Alnou, who was present, and who afterwards became a monk here and was accustomed, with great devotion, to tell this and many other stories of what he had seen on his voyage" to the holy land.[26] Through such storytelling, individual crusaders' personal memories passed into communal memory and became part of the narrative traditions of individual religious houses.

As many religious orders were moving away from child oblation to a preference for adult converts, who in many cases abandoned knightly careers to become monks or canons,[27] the early crusading movement competed with monastic houses for the same recruits: elite men whose violent or otherwise sinful lives left them with uneasy consciences and an eagerness to do penance. When particularly talented individuals chose the monastic path over the road to Jerusalem these stories were carefully preserved. The Cistercian Conrad of Eberbach recalled how when Saint Bernard had preached the Second Crusade several decades earlier, not only did thousands take the cross but "many noble and wise men among them gave themselves to the Lord by his hand, and these he took back to Clairvaux, and, having become monks, they one after another bore great fruit in the Church of God." Pre-eminent among these was Alexander, the future abbot of Cîteaux, who joined the Cistercians after hearing Bernard's crusade preaching and subsequently eating

food blessed by the holy man.[28] It is clear from Conrad's account that Alexander himself, like the monk Richard of Bec, had kept this story alive by retelling it in the cloister.

Monastic charters, documents "written not merely to prevent failures of memory but to ensure that a correct version of the events was the one recollected,"[29] were another textual vehicle by which moral readings of the holy war passed into crusading remembrance. Underlying this genre was the assumption that laypeople (and especially warriors) materially supported and protected religious houses because they desired the prayers of monks, nuns, and canons, as well as the favor of their saintly patrons. As Giles Constable has shown, charters describe crusaders settling feuds with local monasteries, invoking the protection of these institutions' saints for their pilgrimage, and arranging for their bodies' return to monastic cemeteries for burial.[30] In other words, crusade charters collectively affirm donors' spiritual dependence on local *oratores* in very traditional terms, and in doing so suggest how monastic communities fit crusading into a moral economy which coded the calling of arms as inferior to a life of prayer. While some laypeople may have believed their fulfillment of crusading vows made them impervious to the future effects of sin,[31] many took the cross out of guilt over their misdeeds and moral failings, and charters commemorate the feelings of remorse that crusaders were at least *supposed* to feel.[32] Thus charters helped construct remembrances of crusading that were inextricably tied to ideas about laypeople's spiritual dependency.

It is clear that monastic commemorations of crusading were mediated not only by biblical interpretation, but also by the physical presence in and around monastic communities of people with connections to crusading: veterans of the expeditions to Jerusalem, almost-crusaders who had instead become monks, and the friends and kin of those who had gone east and returned with unforgettable stories.[33] By selectively preserving these stories, monastic writers ensured that the early crusading movement would be remembered as an enterprise to be praised, even marveled at, but not accorded the same spiritual prestige as monastic conversion. Despite being *milites Christi*, crusaders remained dependent on religious communities to intercede with God on their behalf, unless they took the logical next step by becoming monks themselves.

Hugh of Amiens' memories of the First Crusade

The story of one such convert, Adjutor of Tiron, illustrates how theological ideas and moral judgements acted on the raw material of individual recollections of crusading. The Norman knight Adjutor, a younger son of the castellan of Vernon, was one of the many thousands who went east with the second wave of the First Crusade.[34] Assuming he traveled with the Norman contingent, he probably took part in the siege of Antioch in 1097–8 and the capture of Jerusalem in July 1099. But in 1000–1, as surviving pilgrims trickled back into the Norman duchy, Adjutor's widowed mother, Rosamund, his brother John, and his sister Eustacia waited

in vain for their kinsman's return; as they no doubt heard from his fellow Jerusalemites, Adjutor was one of the few veterans who had stayed on in the east to defend the fledgling Kingdom of Jerusalem.[35] The better part of two decades passed, and most of the inhabitants of Vernon probably forgot the castellan's son. It must have caused a great sensation, then, when Adjutor suddenly reappeared at Vernon, claiming to have been delivered from a Saracen prison through the intercession of Mary Magdalene and the Blessed Bernard of Tiron and vowing henceforth to live a life of prayer and privation.[36]

These memories of Adjutor's colorful crusading career are preserved in the *Vita Sancti Adjutoris* composed by the Cluniac monk and bishop Hugh of Amiens soon after Adjutor's death in 1131 at the behest of the monks of Tiron. This text is suggestive of how these events were remembered by Adjutor's knightly companions, by the holy man himself, and the monks of Tiron who became Adjutor's new cohort after he abandoned secular warfare. But the *vita* is above all a record of how one monastic thinker, Hugh of Amiens, remembered Adjutor and the early crusading movement,[37] and can serve as a test case for how we might recover monastic memories of crusaders.

Adjutor and Hugh probably first met sometime in 1130, soon after the latter's election to the archbishopric of Rouen, and developed a friendship that was cut short by the saint's death the following spring. The *vita*, the only work of hagiography Hugh wrote in a long and prolific career, shows that Hugh knew Adjutor and his family well and was concerned to promote the holy man's cult. What drew Hugh to Adjutor, beyond the obvious appeal of having a new saint for his new diocese? Forest-dwelling hermits were very much in vogue in hagiographical circles in the early twelfth century. But I would suggest that it was not only Adjutor's bosky charms but his crusading connections that attracted Hugh, whose own background intersected with the First Crusade in several ways.

Born c. 1085 into the Amienois nobility, Hugh was too young to join the first crusaders. It seemed to the young Hugh, he later recalled, that France was left nearly empty, so many took the cross in response to Urban II's call.[38] The return of veterans from the campaigns of 1096–1101 likely made an equally strong impression on Hugh, by then a canon at Thérouanne.[39] Through his relationship to the house of Boves, Hugh was a kinsman of the most notorious of the returned Jerusalemites, Thomas de la Marle, equally famous for his heroism on crusade and his brutality after his homecoming.[40] During the next several years, as Adjutor fought on in the east, Hugh left Thérouanne to study at Laon and subsequently, in 1112, became a monk at Cluny. From 1114 to 1120 Hugh served as prior of Saint-Martial, Limoges, then, after a stint in England, returned to France as archbishop of Rouen in c. 1130.[41] At every stage of his career, Hugh would have encountered living memories of the First Crusade: Thérouanne was an early center of crusade historiography;[42] Cluny, where the future Urban II had served as prior, had given financial support to the first crusaders;[43] Urban II had preached the crusade while staying with the monks of Saint-Martial in December 1095;[44] while Rouen had witnessed the only crusader pogrom against Jews in France.[45] By the time he wrote Adjutor's *vita*,

Hugh had had many opportunities to reflect on the crusade's impact on participants and the homefront, and to assess the venture's spiritual merits. Writing Adjutor's life helped Hugh make sense of these memories, and, in so doing, make a timely argument about the meaning of conversion.

Hugh's *Vita Adjutoris* is, above all, a work of memory. It aims to preserve the *memoria* of its subject by distilling the memories of Adjutor and ten named Norman knights who fought with him or shared his captivity in the east, and it is ostensibly their memories that Hugh used to write the story of Adjutor's dramatic conversion. The narrative begins near Antioch, probably during the 1097–8 siege,[46] when Adjutor's band of knights were surprised by a huge Saracen force and the young man made a vow that was to change his life. He promised that if Mary Magdalene granted him victory, he would return home and join the monks of Tiron, use his resources to endow that house and build a chapel in the saint's honor.[47] There followed a miraculous victory that Hugh – good typological thinker that he was – likened to the biblical parting of the Red Sea, as Adjutor and his fellow knights cut a path through a veritable ocean of opponents with their swords. But although Adjutor professed gratitude to the saint, he forgot his vow and remained in the east as a knight for 17 years. Accordingly, "by a secret judgment of God," Adjutor was captured, bound in chains, and cast into a Saracen prison, where "he suffered the most terrible punishments and monstrous torments designed to make him renounce his faith."[48] While enduring this figurative martyrdom, Adjutor sought the aid of Mary Magdalene and the blessed Bernard of Tiron, who miraculously loosened his chains and transported him from his Levantine dungeon all the way back to Normandy. Delivered from the Saracens a second time, Adjutor hastened to Tiron where, "putting aside the old man and abandoning secular knighthood, he put on the religious habit and became a new man." But even after his monastic rebirth, Adjutor could not have forgotten his crusading past, since he retained his iron fetters as a memento.[49] As the *vita* makes clear, Adjutor's former brothers in arms likewise kept alive the memory of their shared exploits and sufferings in the east, and were eager to support their old friend's cult.

Hugh insisted that Adjutor's miraculous deliverance was "a wondrous thing, unheard of in these regions,"[50] but this was not strictly true. A close reading of the *vita* suggests Hugh's presentation of Adjutor's conversion was shaped by remembrances of two other, very different crusaders, whose stories defined two poles of crusading spirituality: Bohemond of Antioch, the most charismatic and controversial of the First Crusade's leaders; and the viscount of Bourges, Odo Arpin, a hero of the Second Battle of Ramla (1102).[51] Like Adjutor, each of these men had taken the cross in the prime of his life and fought valiantly in the east before being captured and imprisoned, Bohemond in Anatolia from 1100 to 1103, and Odo in Cairo from 1102 to 1103.

But there the similarities ended. Upon his release, Bohemond resumed the lordship of Antioch, and three years later toured Northern France to gather support for his projected invasion of the Byzantine Empire.[52] Claiming to have escaped prison through the intercession of Saint Leonard, Bohemond kicked off his recruiting tour

with a dramatic visit to the saint's shrine at Noblat, where the monks eagerly copied his story into their miracle-book:

> [While in prison, Bohemond] swore a vow to God and the aforesaid Saint Leonard, that, if by the saint's merits, God snatched him up from captivity among that barbaric people and brought him safe and sound to the shores of the Latin Christians' lands, he would quickly hurry with many prayers and offerings to visit his [Leonard's] body and the place where he was buried in the ground. After he swore and said these things, on the next night, Saint Leonard appeared to him. When he made the sign of the cross, all of the chains upon Bohemond and his companions burst asunder; and again, when he made the sign of the cross, the doors of the prison and city opened, with the guards realizing nothing. So he brought them safe and sound into the region of Jerusalem, bidding him to follow him without fear.[53]

Bohemond presented the monks of Noblat with "chains of silver and gold [to be] hung over the body of the blessed confessor," so that "the memory of his liberation" might be preserved.[54] Indeed, Bohemond's story was still widely remembered in Northern France when Hugh of Amiens wrote Adjutor's *vita*,[55] and Hugh could have hardly helped hearing of the miracle during the six years he spent at Saint-Martial, barely a dozen miles west of Noblat, especially given his arrival in the Limogeois less than a decade after Bohemond's visit.

Released from captivity the same year as Bohemond, Odo Arpin famously renounced secular knighthood to become a monk at Cluny.[56] Although Odo never claimed miraculous deliverance from captivity, contemporaries viewed his imprisonment as a figurative martyrdom that paved the way for his monastic conversion. Orderic Vitalis recounted how during his captivity Odo, "Remembering the countless torments which the martyrs had endured even to death in Christ's name, often called to Christ and, [was] comforted by him."[57] Orderic credits Christ indirectly with Odo's release, and insists that when Odo subsequently sought the advice of Paschal II, it was Christ who spoke these words through the pope: "The muddy road is secular life, which you should shun at all costs for fear of becoming spattered and losing the crown of the sufferings by which you are glorified." Moved by "the pope's counsel, or rather Christ's, he abandoned the world" and retired to Cluny (some five years before Hugh of Amiens joined that house), where he "persevered in the service of God until his death."[58] It is reasonable to assume that during his time at Cluny Hugh met Odo, since both men were protégés of Abbot Pontius of Melgueil,[59] and Hugh could even have heard the story of Odo's captivity firsthand.

Let us consider how Hugh's memories of these two famous captivity narratives, along with his earlier encounters with crusading, might have shaped his presentation of Adjutor's story. There are obvious parallels between Bohemond and Adjutor's rescue stories. Both have a biblical prototype in the story of the apostle Peter's deliverance from Herod's prison (Acts 12:6–10), and they share the added element of the prisoners' transportation across long distances, something rare in the annals

of miraculous rescues.[60] Adjutor's night journey recalls the prophet Habakkuk's flight across Babylon described in Daniel 14:33–35,[61] while the Noblat account has resonances in contemporary miracle collections. It might be compared, for instance, with a story from Saint-Gilles-du-Gard in which an enslaved crusader is freed from his chains and guided across a vast desert by a beautiful doe, or another twelfth-century account from Saintes in which a crusader is miraculously transported from a prison-tower in Cairo to the abbey church of Sainte-Eutrope.[62] But whereas the heroes of these stories promptly returned – as did Bohemond – to the "muddy road" of secular knighthood, Adjutor followed Odo's lead into the monastery. Both men's stories express the conviction that crusading was an intermediate step in a conversionary process that properly culminated in the knight's "rebirth" as a monk. This was the spiritual lesson that made Adjutor's life a worthy addition to the collective memory of the monks of Tiron, Hugh's stated audience, and in this sense the *vita* hints at a broader monastic response to the early crusading movement.

But while the *Vita Adjutoris* was written to ensure the saint's place in the monastery's commemorative life, it also preserves the subjective crusading memories of its author, and is a powerful reminder of the ways in which the events of 1095–1101 touched the lives of those who did not actually go east – a reminder that, as Megan Cassidy-Welch and Anne Lester explain, "Crusade experiences were set within and given meaning in the social context of 'home.'"[63] This may have been especially true for members of monastic communities, who might vicariously travel to Jerusalem through the memories of returned *crucesignati*, but whose vows of stability (at least in theory) kept them from physically going east. Nevertheless, as the *Vita Adjutoris* shows, monastic writers – who were, after all, specialists in the art of memory – could make crusaders' memories their own through the application of exegetical methods and moral lessons. Finally, we are left with the impression of the power crusading memory exerted even over those who did not take the cross. In the *Vita Adjutoris* Hugh of Amiens summoned the ghosts of the First Crusade, but he could not lay them to rest. Decades after the First Crusade, the ghosts of the first crusaders still clustered thickly around the monasteries of the Latin West, demanding to be remembered.

Acknowledgments

I wish to thank William Purkis and Megan Cassidy-Welch for reading an earlier draft of this chapter and offering numerous helpful suggestions.

Notes

1 For an exploration of how one monastic community became an important locus for crusading memory, see Megan Cassidy-Welch, "The Monastery of São Vicente de Fora in Lisbon as a Site of Crusading Memory," *The Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies* 3 (2014): 1–20.

2 Landmark works include Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, 2nd edn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009); Jonathan Riley-Smith,

The First Crusaders, 1095–1131 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c.970–c.1130* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); H.E.J. Cowdrey, *The Crusades and Latin Monasticism* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999); and Giles Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (Farnahm: Ashgate, 2009).

3 For example, see Richard W. Kaeuper, *Holy Warriors: The Religious Ideology of Chivalry* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

4 The most thorough survey to date is William J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c.1095–c.1187* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), esp. ch. 2.

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7 For a more detailed explanation of these terms, see Megan Cassidy-Welch's Introduction to this volume.

8 For a recent discussion of memory as a creative, reconstructive process, see Emily Keightley and Michael Pickering, *The Mnemonic Imagination: Remembering as Creative Practice* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

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10 See Damien Kempf, "Towards a Textual Archaeology of the First Crusade," in *Writing the Early Crusades: Text, Transmission and Memory*, ed. Marcus Bull and Damien Kemp (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014), 116–26; and Nicholas L. Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), 251–94.

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14 Katherine Allen Smith, "Glossing the Holy War: Exegetical Constructions of the First Crusade, c.1099–c.1146," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 3rd series, vol. 10 (2013): 1–39.

15 Gabrielle M. Spiegel, "Historical Thought in Medieval Europe," in *A Companion to Western Historical Thought*, ed. Lloyd Kramer and Sarah Maza (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 78–98 (esp. 84–5).

16 For a few examples out of many, see Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 6.35, ed. and trans. Susan Edgington (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), 448–9; Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968–80) 5:18; Baldric of Bourgueil, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. Steven Biddlecombe (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014), 8.

17 This passage is cited in virtually every twelfth-century account of the First Crusade; for example, see Ekkehard of Aura, *Chronica*, ed. F.-J. Schmale and I. Schmale-Ott in *Frutolfs und Ekkehards Chroniken und die anonyme Kaiserchronik*, Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 15 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1972), 132; Robert of Reims, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, ed. Damien Kempf and Marcus G. Bull (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2013), 6; and Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Iherosolymitana*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg: Carl Winters, 1913), 115 and 163.

18 Baldric of Bourgueil, *Historia*, ed. Biddlecombe, 26.

19 Arnold of Lübeck, *Duellum Nicaenum*, RHC Oc. 5:386.
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31 Jay Rubenstein, "Poetry and History: Baudry of Bourgeuil, the Architecture of Chivalry, and the First Crusade," *Haskins Society Journal* 23 (2011): 87–102 (at 90).
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38 *Vita Adjutoris*, PL 192: col. 1346.
39 Freeburn, *Hugh of Amiens*, 7.
40 Jay Rubenstein suggests Thomas' famously cruel behavior after 1099 may reflect his belief that the crusade indulgence constituted a "perpetual 'get out of jail free' card vis-à-vis the afterlife"; see "Poetry and History," 90.

41 Freeburn, *Hugh of Amiens*, 7–10.
42 The First Crusade had a major impact on Thérouanne and its environs, and local writers commemorated the names and deeds of returned heroes as well as men who fell in the east; see Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, 36 and 44–6.
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60 P.-A. Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle dans la France médiévale (Xle–XIIe siècle)* (Paris: Cerf, 1985), 268–70.
61 As noted by Freeburn, *Hugh of Amiens*, 102n.
62 *Miracula Sancti Aegidii* [BHL 93], MGH SS 12: 319; and *Miracula Sancti Eutropii martyris, episcopi Santonensis* [BHL 2787], AASS Apr. 3, 746–7.
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9

HIGH STAKES AND HIGH REWARD

The memory of royal crusading

James Naus and Vincent Ryan

In 1837 King Louis Philippe (r. 1830–48) opened the Palace of Versailles to the French public. In the midst of the tumultuous July Monarchy, the king wished to foster a sense of national reconciliation and cultivate his populist image by repurposing the royal palace—perhaps the most visible monument to the grandiose conservative policies of his predecessors—as a national museum dedicated to the past glories of France. By reminding the public of carefully selected moments of French greatness, many of which featured the intervention of strong kings, Louis Philippe also hoped to convince the French citizenry of the benefits to their sense of national pride of maintaining a monarch. In response to the museum increasing in size and popularity over the next decade, the king ordered the renovation of a group of rooms prominently located on the palace's first floor, inaugurating the *Salles des Croisades* in 1843. The new gallery was a monument to French crusading history, containing approximately 150 paintings and 300 drawings by the finest artists of the day, as well as the family crests of those able to prove a crusader among their ancestors.[1] Given the plethora of royal and national symbols at his disposal, it is significant that the king relied on the medieval institution of crusading to help assuage the feeling of political disunity that had plagued France since 1789.

In drawing upon the memory of the Crusades to support a political goal, Louis Philippe was not charting a new course, but was following a path well-worn by European monarchs before him. Since the Middle Ages, rulers had relied on association with the crusading movement to shape and support political claims. In a symbiotic way the image and memory of the rulers were, in turn, affected by crusading themes and ideology.[2] For example, much of the argument in favor of the canonization of King Louis IX of France (r. 1223–70) rested on his participation in crusading expeditions to the East in 1248 and 1270.[3] The king's crusading deeds prominently appear in the texts that played the most crucial role in securing his canonization, and many of the miracles associated with St. Louis occurred in

the context of his crusading expeditions.[4] Across the English Channel, the frequent descriptions of Richard I (r. 1189–99) as a model king often find purchase in the king's participation in the Third Crusade, a performance that earned him from one medieval chronicler the comparison to mythical heroes such as Hector and Achilles and from another the often-repeated title of "warrior king" (*rex bellicosus*).[5] While scholars often focus on Frederick Barbarossa's death while participating in the Third Crusade, it is worth remembering that he had also joined Emperor Conrad III on the Second Crusade. Indeed, Frederick intended for his leadership role on the Third Crusade to translate directly into a stronger relationship between empire and papacy.[6] Even those rulers who never ventured to the East understood the value of paying lip service to the movement. King Henry II of England (r. 1154–89) frequently made plain his desire to lead a crusade to the East, though mostly his promises were born out of the need for recompense for the murder of Thomas Becket in 1170 or else to drum up political support in his war with France.[7] He did not actually take the cross until 1188, when news of the loss of Jerusalem reached the West, but nevertheless had profited from association with the crusading movement for much of his political career. In 1395 Charles VI of France wrote Richard II of England about the possibility of the monarchs leading a joint crusade endeavor which would not only liberate the Holy Land, but also hopefully help end the Great Schism and secure peace between France and England.[8]

As these examples demonstrate, kings had an important and unique connection to the crusading movement. It is therefore the purpose of this chapter to survey and comment upon this relationship. Given the importance of this topic, it is worth pointing out that comparatively little work has focused on the connection. Rather, historians who have discussed the crusading experiences of medieval kings and emperors have tended to use one of two approaches. Prominent kings, such as Louis IX and Richard the Lionheart, have received full-length biographical treatments by scholars interested in setting the respective king's reign in the broader history of a particular kingdom. Thus, the ruler's crusading deeds are approached in terms of how they factored into wider political, social, and cultural developments.[9] Alternatively, historians of the crusading movement often have subordinated royal status to that of the pilgrim, discussing kings' experiences on crusade in an attempt to understand the particular progression of individual expeditions.[10] In such treatments, the inimitable elements of "being royal" do not tend to factor. These approaches have generated much helpful material, and have done quite a lot in recent years to integrate Crusades studies with more mainstream historiographical trends. It remains the case, though, that fewer treatments have sought to understand the particular nature of royal crusading, or, put another way, the features unique to a king on crusade. Why did he go? What challenges did he face, and what potential rewards might he expect? Most crucially, how did the king's experience differ from that of other crusaders? While many parallels exist with the wider population of crusaders, there are enough distinctive facets to royal crusading to justify separate consideration. Moreover, while full-length studies of

individual kings and their crusading experiences may be an ultimate goal, there is benefit to making more general observations about the special relationship of kings to crusade. Specifically, an appreciation of three main areas of royal crusading can help facilitate a fuller understanding of the animating features of kings on crusade: motives and catalysts; challenges and considerations; and rewards and impact. It is precisely because the stakes were so high for royal crusaders that the memory of their deeds continued to shape European politics throughout the modern era. In order to make this case, the following discussion will be divided into two sections. The first will make general observations about royal association with crusading, and the second will flesh them out by focusing on the particular career of one such royal crusader, King Richard I of England.

Royal crusaders, like most who took the cross, were motivated by a combination of genuine piety and external factors. In the case of kings and emperors, however, the virtue of having royal status meant that the relative weight of external factors was oftentimes higher than in the general crusading population. Kings were frequent targets of direct appeals for support by both the pope and the ruling class in the Latin East. Louis VII, for example, received several letters from Pope Eugenius III as well as the patriarch of Jerusalem on the eve of making his commitment to lead the Second Crusade.[11] While many other factors ultimately went into the king's decision to lead that expedition, the public nature of royal crusade requests certainly made it more difficult for Louis to turn his back on the pope and the patriarch of Jerusalem. In similar ways, kings and emperors such as Philip Augustus, Henry II, and Frederick II spent much of their careers having to balance their relationships with the papacy, going to great lengths to explain the reasons for their inability to act on a pope's call to aid the Holy Land.

If a ruler took the cross, many of the challenges and considerations that went into planning the expedition were unique to royal crusading. In the first place, participation in a crusade to the Holy Land required the extended absence of the king from his kingdom for longer than any other event in the Middle Ages. Louis VII was gone on the Second Crusade for nearly four years, while Louis IX was away from France participating on Crusades for a total of more than seven years.[12] This was difficult for any participant, but placed an especially high burden on kings, since power in the Middle Ages was still conceived of in personal terms and effective rule often required the intervention of the king himself. In a related point, the king's absence had potential dynastic implications. Louis VII did not yet have a male heir when he ventured off on the Second Crusade, and had the king died in the East, the stability of the Capetian dynasty would have been at stake. An absent king was also unable to properly defend his kingdom against internal and external threats. When Philip Augustus of France returned home early from the Third Crusade, he quickly set out chipping away at territory belonging to Richard the Lionheart. Indeed, Philip's seemingly allergic reaction to participation in latter expeditions was, in part, driven by his fear that nobles would rise against him while he was away. Although Pope Urban II did not directly seek the participation of kings in the First Crusade, it

is likely that he would have faced opposition if he had; few monarchs in the late eleventh century were sufficiently strong to abandon their kingdoms for the time required for a crusade.

Kings had to weigh the potential risks of being absent against the gains they could make in the East, which could be substantial. Indeed, those kings who decided to take the cross, whether successful or not in their military endeavors, stood to gain great reward from association with the crusading movement. A number of kings participated in the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in July of 1212, which proved a massive victory for the Christians, accelerating the path of reconquest that culminated with the fall of Seville in 1248. Alfonso VIII of Castile, in particular, benefited from his leadership role in the enterprise, cultivating the image of the Spanish savior who exacted revenge for the Muslim conquest of 711.[13] Alfonso VIII is still remembered as a great Spanish national hero, and is only one example of many such cases in which the crusading deeds of medieval kings continue to animate the popular and scholarly imagination of these men. More generally this point is born out by the popularity of the "crusading king" character in literature and film.

Though examples of what made royal crusading unique can be drawn from across broad geographical and chronological spectrums, the general principles being outlined can best and most fully be illustrated by focusing on one such example: Richard the Lionheart, king of England from 1189 to 1199. Richard was not only one of the most famous monarchs to go on crusade, but he was one the most celebrated crusaders of the entire Middle Ages. As one modern biographer observed, "it was on crusade that Richard entered the world of legend."[14] Of course, his crusading renown was undeniably heightened by his royal status. Literature and film have cemented this crusading reputation in the modern era.[15] But it is not just his fame that makes him an apt case study in this consideration of royal crusading; rather, the extent to which he embodied the paradigm of royal crusading allows for a deep and detailed analysis of the qualities that made kings such unique participants in holy war.

On July 4, 1187, the forces of Saladin annihilated the army of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem at the Horns of Hattin, leaving the holy city along with much of the Christian holdings vulnerable to Muslim takeover. News of this defeat rocked medieval Christendom. Pope Urban III purportedly died of grief when he learned the news. His successor, Pope Gregory VIII, issued the crusading bull *Audita tremendi* in October to alert medieval Christians to these disastrous developments and to summon them to a new expedition to recover Jerusalem. Richard would be among the first major leaders in Europe to answer this call to crusade. His decision to take the cross in November 1187—less than a month after the release of *Audita tremendi*—is sometimes presented as a manifestation of the rashness and bravado that typified the Lionheart's personality. Certainly his martial impulses and desire to burnish his reputation for valor and honor played a role in his quick response to this crusading summons. Jean Flori, for example, has emphasized the extent to which crusading was a natural culmination for a warrior steeped in the world of chivalry.[16] But closer examination shows that his crusading vow was not the impetuous act of a

restless adventurer, but rather was a momentous decision influenced by a number of the factors discussed above. The crusade certainly allowed Richard the opportunity to demonstrate feats of valor and of honor, but, crucially, it imbued such activities with a Christian ethic, and thus offered him a sufficiently valuable reward to make the risk of participation worthwhile.

The topic of crusader motivations has been a particularly robust area of scholarly discourse and illumination over the past three decades. Jonathan Riley-Smith in particular has contributed greatly to a renewed appreciation for the role that piety played in igniting crusade participation.[17] Therefore, to better understand what may have been shaping his decision, the first place to start is Richard's own spiritual mentality. To begin with, not enough attention has been paid to the location at which he took his vow: the cathedral of Tours. That his decision to take the cross occurred in a church suggests a certain amount of religiosity and premeditation shaping his action here. Perhaps more crucially, Tours was a site intricately linked to Martin of Tours, a famous soldier-saint in the early history of the Catholic Church who was an immensely popular intercessory figure during the Middle Ages. The thousands of churches dedicated to him in France alone provide some reflection of his spiritual renown. The cathedral itself, which was home to several of his relics, most notably Martin's tomb, was a major pilgrimage site in this era.[18] During his promotion of the First Crusade Pope Urban II stopped in the city to preach the cross and venerate the tomb of St. Martin. One final indication that this location was not incidental to the crusading pledge of the future king of England is illustrated by later events. When he finally departed on his crusade in the summer of 1190, Richard returned to the cathedral of Tours to formally receive the insignia of a pilgrim—the staff and the purse.[19]

All these pilgrimage connotations regarding Tours highlight the penitential aspect that figured prominently in crusading itself. Some modern biographers have suggested that Richard's religiosity was rather superficial in nature.[20] While he certainly does not measure up to Louis IX's reputation for piety, such assessments of his spiritual outlook are nevertheless tenuous. The sources strongly indicate that the penitential component of crusading resonated with Richard. In *Audita tremendi*, Pope Gregory VIII noted the collective responsibility of all Christians for the recent setbacks in the Holy Land, which were the result "not only of the sins of the inhabitants but also our own and those of the whole Christian people."[21] This theme would be echoed in the subsequent promotion and preaching of the Third Crusade by churchmen such as Gerard of Wales, Peter of Blois, and Henry of Albano.[22] Penance had been central to the crusading ethos from its inception, but the emphasis amid the promotion of the Third Crusade on the unworthiness of the Christian faithful seems to have made a mark on Richard. During his army's winter stay on Sicily, Richard—distraught over his own perceived unworthiness—summoned some of the leading clerics in his retinue to preside over a personal penitential ceremony. In a local chapel Richard, barefoot and prostrate, confessed his sins and pledged to be more righteous in his future endeavors.[23] These are the acts of a man who likely would have found great appeal in the indulgence offered to all crusaders. In noting

the great attraction of crusading to a monarch, one medieval troubadour astutely reflected: "What more can kings desire than the right to save themselves from hell-fire by mighty deeds of arms?"[24]

A monarch's determination to crusade was not limited to his own individual concerns; family history and dynastic concerns often factored into the decision. Richard's family tree was full of crusading connections. For example, his great-grandfather William IX of Aquitaine had participated in the ill-fated Crusade of 1101.[25] His own mother, Eleanor of Aquitaine, had gone on the Second Crusade with her previous husband, Louis VII. Her experience in the East had contributed to the breakdown of their marriage (fortuitously for Richard's own future existence) and sullied her reputation with rumors of scandalous activity in the Levant between Eleanor and her uncle, Raymond of Antioch.[26] Richard was not even the first of his siblings to take the cross. Henry the Younger had done so in 1183, though his vow was famously fulfilled by William Marshal following the Young King's death.[27] Even John Lackland may have raised the possibility of going to the East in 1185.[28] It is striking that while the crusading examples in Richard's extended family were widespread, they nevertheless presented the king with a problem, since few had obtained any real success in the East. For Richard, this meant that the spectre of failure always loomed on the horizon, thus making his ultimate support for the Third Crusade more dramatic.

Of all Richard's family members, the one with the most complicated crusading affiliation was his father, Henry II. There has been much debate over how genuine Henry was in his crusading commitment. Christopher Tyerman has argued that Henry mainly used crusading as a negotiating ploy, while other scholars have portrayed the king as having sincere aspirations that were frequently obstructed by political occurrences, such as the Great Rebellion of 1173–4.[29] In the 1160s and 1170s, in his dealings with his French counterpart Louis VII he would occasionally invoke the possibility of going on crusade. As atonement for his role in the murder of Thomas Becket, Henry promised in the Compromise of Avranches in 1172 to take the cross—that is to say, he seems to be agreeing that he indeed will take a crusading vow in the near future. A few contemporary sources claimed the pope had allowed the English monarch to commute this oath, but what is beyond dispute is that nothing ever came of the Avranches pledge.[30] In September 1177, Louis VII and Henry II agreed to the Treaty of Ivry. While the accord was primarily about respecting each other's rights, it also included a pledge to prepare a joint crusade.[31] Nothing substantial ever materialized on this front as the aged Louis died less than three years later. In his 1182 will Henry continued to foster the public image of great concern for the Holy Land by bequeathing notable sums to the Templars and the Hospitallers.[32] Three years later, in response to the recent embassy from Heraclius, the patriarch of Jerusalem, he would authorize a tax to raise funds for the defense of Outremer—though the effectiveness of this levy and the sum ultimately collected remain rather murky.[33]

The preceding discussion brings two important elements into focus. First, Richard the Lionheart came of age in an environment in which he would have been

frequently exposed to crusading ideology, stories of his ancestors' experiences in the East and the increasing plight of Holy Land. Second, prior to his finally taking a crusading vow in January 1188, Henry had a number of prominent dalliances with crusading that were never consummated. An awareness of his father's unfulfilled crusading track record enables a better appreciation of the significance of Richard's own decision to take the cross in the fall of 1187. A number of the sources take of note of Richard not having received Henry's permission when he made his commitment to crusade. The almost sub-textual clucking of tongues from these medieval authors highlights the irregularity of this and hints at their disapproval for this oversight. But for Richard, the lack of permission was part of the point. His relationship with his father was a stormy one and had involved multiple military showdowns since Richard's elevation to duke of Aquitaine and count of Poitou. In addition to serving as an outlet for his spiritual concerns and martial inclinations, his vow also served as a quasi-declaration of independence from the political micro-managing of his father—reminiscent of how Louis IX's initial crusade vow in 1244 has been interpreted as being in part a way to move out of his mother's personal and political domination.[34] In not first securing the permission of Henry II to make this vow, Richard was showing himself to be his own man. Furthermore, he was—intentionally or not—forging a very distinct image in contrast to his father by plunging into the very thing that Henry had been publicly skirting over the past few decades. In this context, Richard's decision to crusade must be understood in the framework of late twelfth-century royal politics.

Of course Richard's royal pedigree meant that family history could have significant overlap with dynastic implications. Just as Louis VII's decision to take the cross in 1146 had filled a lingering crusading void for the French monarchy (neither his father or grandfather had participated, and his great uncle had deserted the first crusading host), Richard's vow had the potential to erase the less than stellar crusading history of the last several generations of the Angevin dynasty and to elevate the status of the English monarchy amid its ongoing rivalry with the Capetian dynasty. But dynastic considerations also had a wider scope for the future English king, for the ruling dynasty in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem since 1131 had been a branch of the Angevin family. In 1129 Fulk V of Anjou, the great-grandfather of Richard had agreed to marry Melisende, heiress to the throne of Jerusalem. In 1131 they were crowned as the rulers of the kingdom and Angevin control over the greatest of the crusader states commenced. This family connection had been regularly highlighted in many of the crusading appeals made to Henry II—perhaps most famously in 1185. As Christopher Tyerman has rightly reminded us, "For the Angevins, the affairs of Jerusalem were a family matter."[35] Richard indicated as much in the location of his crusading vow. Along with the cathedral of Tours' connection to popular piety and crusading history, it also resonated in Angevin family history, for it was in this church that Fulk V of Anjou had received the cross before departing on his own journey to the East to eventually become king of Jerusalem.[36] Thus Richard's crusading declaration was a decision of multifaceted dynastic importance.

Henry and Philip Augustus would take the cross themselves several months later. The preparatory crusading efforts were soon obstructed, however, by a new wave of fighting between the kings, with Richard making common cause with the French monarch against Henry II. By the summer of 1189 the power struggle had ended with Henry's death and Richard's subsequent ascension to the English throne. The delayed crusade would quickly become the chief focus of the new monarch. Going on crusade presented a variety of challenges for any participant. However, being a crusading monarch presented its own unique set of challenges and risks. One of the greatest concerns was financing. Crusading was a costly endeavor for participants. Noble families would often have to liquidate many of their assets to help underwrite the crusading expenditures of kin who had taken the cross. For monarchs the financial burdens of crusading were exponentially magnified as they would be expected to cover a major portion of the campaign's expenses. For instance, £2,250 was spent on the crusading fleet that transported Richard and his forces to the East.[37] Richard had something of a headstart in this regard, as his father had instituted in 1188 a tax throughout Angevin lands to fund the royal crusading enterprise. While we lack specific figures for the sums collected, it is clear from the sources that this levy—commonly known as the "Saladin tithe" —provided significant financial support for the upcoming expedition. Richard did not rely solely on revenue streams initiated by his father. Indeed he was somewhat notorious in scouring England for any possible sources of crusade financing. His dogged efforts in this capacity are humorously illustrated in his supposed utterance: "If I could have found a buyer I would have sold London itself."[38] Indeed, he was very capable in negotiating favorable financial transactions during his crusade preparation.[39] One episode that exemplifies this shrewdness is his dealings with the English sheriffs. His overall funding success is best attested to in how he never seemed to be short of money during the crusade.

Another major challenge was how a monarch's absence on crusade would affect the stability of the kingdom. With the king off crusading in distant lands, it would be vital that proper caretakers for the state were appointed. His military reputation has either overshadowed or been used as a demerit against his administrative capacities. James Brundage reflected the traditionally dismissive assessment when he remarked on the "basic weakness of Richard as a ruler."[40] But in recent years historians have highlighted his aptitude in these matters, with his preparations for the Crusades figuring prominently in this revisionism. Though he notably blundered in his appointment of William Longchamp as justiciar, he also appointed worthy candidates in William Marshal, Hubert Walter, and Walter of Coutances. Overall, Richard chose capable people to oversee the governance of his lands while the king was engaged in holy war.

Of course having capable officials was not the only concern. The threat of internal rebellion or external attack would need to be marginalized as much as possible. Before Louis IX set out on his first crusade he forged a truce with his English rival, Henry III, and he also required many of the leading nobles of his kingdom to either swear oaths of loyalty or go with him to the East.[41] Being very alert to these risks,

Richard was quite active on the diplomatic front in the months prior to his crusade departure. The security of his English lands was bolstered by the agreements he made with both Welsh leaders and William I of Scotland "that while he was on pilgrimage they would not cross their borders to do harm to England."[42] Likewise negotiations with Philip Augustus helped to better safeguard Angevin territory on the continent. In July 1189 treaty Richard agreed to pay 24,000 marks and in return Philip ceased with his demands for the Norman Vexin and Gisors.[43] Marriage arrangements were also utilized to protect some of his continental frontiers. For example, a particularly vulnerable area of Normandy was better secured when Richard married one of his nieces to Geoffrey III of Perche.[44] Of all his efforts to preserve order in his Angevin lands while he was campaigning in the East, none was more important than ensuring that his royal rival, Philip Augustus, stayed true to his own crusade vow. Their agreement to crusade jointly was vital for the security of Angevin territory in France. The mayhem that the French king unleashed against Richard's continental holdings upon his early return from the Holy Land in 1191 shows both the immense risk of a monarch being away on crusade and how truly disastrous it would have been for the Lionheart if Philip had shunned the crusade altogether.

The Third Crusade's ultimate inability to retake Jerusalem does not mean that the campaign was a failure or that Richard was regarded, as one scholar dubiously put it, a "bad crusader."[45] The crusade provided him with numerous opportunities to burnish his already celebrated reputation as a warrior on an international stage. On Sicily his capture of Messina forced Tancred of Lecce to return the dowry of Richard's sister, Joan, who had been married to the previous ruler of that kingdom. Later he wrested control of Cyprus from the clutches of the Byzantine pretender, Isaac Comnenus—a development that would prove a major boost to the Christian position in the Levant for the next several centuries. Though the crusade would ultimately cause the Angevin–Capetian rivalry to become even more toxic, it provided a unique forum for Richard to routinely outshine his fellow monarch, Philip Augustus. They may have both possessed royal status, but Richard was the one whose arrival in June 1191 was the tipping point for bringing the nearly two-year siege of Acre to its conclusion the following month. Philip's decision to return to France soon after the fall of Acre may have been primarily spurred by political opportunism, but being completely overshadowed at this moment of crusading triumph likely added to his desire to disembark for Europe. Richard would subsequently score two more military victories against Saladin at Arsuf and later Jaffa. At the crusade's conclusion in 1192, the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem had many of its coastal holdings restored, its internal division mended, and a three-year peace agreement with Saladin. As one historian put it: "Although he had failed to reclaim Jerusalem, Richard had put the Christians of the Levant back on their feet again."[46]

By any sensible metric, the English king was a crusading success. His capture and imprisonment upon his return from the East admittedly derailed him from receiving his heroic homecoming. Nonetheless, even amid the intense propaganda war that erupted between Richard and his European rivals in the aftermath of the crusade,

the reputation of the Lionheart would emerge not only relatively unscathed, but ultimately ascendant. It is a reflection of his celebrated crusading reputation that he was kept abreast of important developments in the Levant even while incarcerated. According to Roger of Howden, Enrico Dandolo, the doge of Venice who would later play a central role in the Fourth Crusade, wrote a letter to the imprisoned monarch informing him of the death of Saladin and the subsequent factionalism among the Muslims in the region.[47] The letter has a subtext of expectation: the hope that the celebrated crusading monarch would someday return to the Holy Land and see the holy city restored to Christian control. It also highlights a vibrant crusading reputation beyond Angevin lands. Moreover, upon his release from captivity one of his first actions was to inform the Christians in Outremer that he still intended to fulfill his promise. Roger of Howden records that he informed them of his liberation, explaining that "if God should grant him vengeance against his enemies, and peace, he would come by the time appointed to aid them against the infidels."[48] The recovery of Jerusalem undoubtedly remained a significant concern for Richard, but this type of communication also enabled him to invoke his crusading glory as he prepared to unleash vengeance against those who had wronged him and violated the privileges associated with his crusader status.

Crusading may have been a collective act that fostered collective uses of remembering, but royal crusading elevated the king above the collective. Royal crusaders were remembered differently and usually more vividly than other crusaders.[49] It is the image of the crusade that most defined Richard's image after he returned from the East, and it is arguably the one that still animates his memory. As John Gillingham observed, "When Richard was king of England he was also a prince who ruled over much more than England. But in the legends, in poem after poem, story after story, he is a king of England who went on crusade."[50] Despite the fact that he spoke no English, preferred his French lands to his English ones, and spent less than six months of his ten-year reign in England, Richard became one of the most famous and celebrated English monarchs because of his crusading campaign. The acclaimed nineteenth-century author Sir Walter Scott often drew on Richard's crusading legacy as a way to critique contemporary society. So deeply had Richard's crusading deeds penetrated the popular imagination, that in years after 1917, when the British had occupied Palestine under the leadership of General Allenby, the London magazine *Punch* was able to feature a cartoon depicting the medieval king atop the hills surround Jerusalem. Underneath the image the caption read, "The Last Crusade."[51] The only way this cartoon would have served its purpose is if the popular readership of *Punch* was able to draw easily on Richard's crusading memory; in other words, it had entered folklore. Much the same is true for other medieval crusading kings. Charles VIII of France, who strongly considered leading a crusade against the Turks during the late fifteenth century, was obsessed with his royal ancestor Louis IX. As he explained in a letter to the pope, going on crusade would provide him with the opportunity to demonstrate his gratitude to God "and to follow my ancestors."[52] The memory of the famed French crusading king would continue to resonate over the centuries. The age of colonialism witnessed a surge of interest in Louis IX. For

instance, France's invasion of Algeria in 1830 was often compared to Louis IX's crusading expedition to Tunis in 1270.[53] Richard and Louis were not the only crusader kings whose memory was fervently invoked during the nineteenth century. In the aftermath of German unification, the past was mined for heroes to highlight past eras of German greatness and further stoke the flames of nationalism as well as the push for German expansionism. As the memory of Frederick Barbarossa remained potent in the nineteenth century, this celebrated German crusading monarch was appropriated in this project of national myth-making. Otto von Bismarck funded the unsuccessful efforts of German archeologists in the 1870s to discover the burial place of Barbarossa in the Levant and then transfer the bones of this legendary crusader to the cathedral of Cologne, which would "symbolize the reunification of the German *Reich* and arouse unprecedented enthusiasm."[54] Even today, when scholars and popular audiences think of these monarchs, they very frequently think of their crusading deeds, a point that further demonstrates the powerful impact that the crusading movement had on shaping not only the behavior of kings in the Middle Ages, but also the memory of those kings throughout the ages.

Notes

1 For images of the *Salles des Croisades* see Claire Constans and Philippe Lamarque, *Les Salles des Croisades: Château de Versailles* (Versailles: Château de Versailles, 2002); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades, Christianity, and Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), pp. 53–4.
2 Cf. James Naus, *Constructing Kingship: The Crusades and the Capetian Monarchs of France* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016).
3 M. Cecelia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), pp. 21–47.
4 For mention in texts see M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *Blessed Louis: The Most Glorious of Kings: Texts Relating to the Cult of Saint Louis of France*, trans. with Phyllis B. Katz (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012), pp. 68–70, 72–80, 114–18, 134–6. For the miracles see Jacques Le Goff, "Saint de l'Eglise et saint du people: Les miracles officiels de saint Louis entre sa mort et sa canonization (1270–1297)," in *Histoire sociale, sensibilities collectives et mentalities: Mélanges Robert Mandrou* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1985), pp. 169–80.
5 For the passage comparing Richard to mythical figures see *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, ed. William Stubbs, in *The Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, Rolls Series 38 (London: Longman, 1864), pp. 65–6; the reference to *rex bellicosus* occurs in Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. Joseph Stevenson, Rolls Series (London: Longman, 1875), p. 49.
6 Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), pp. 417–19.
7 Nicholas Paul, *To Follow in their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), pp. 207–15; Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades: 1095–1588* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), pp. 36–56.
8 J.J.N. Palmer, *England, France, and Christendom, 1377–99* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972), p. 180.
9 Cf. William Chester Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979); John W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University

of California Press, 1986); Ralph V. Turner and Richard R. Heiser, *The Reign of Richard Lionheart: Ruler of the Angevin Empire, 1189–1199* (London: Routledge, 2000).

10 Jonathan Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); Sidney Painter, "The Third Crusade: Richard the Lionhearted and Philip Augustus," in *A History of the Crusades: The Later Crusades, 1189–1131*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), pp. 44–85.

11 On the appeals to Louis see *La chronique de Morigny 1095–1152*, ed. Léon Mirot, 2nd edition (Paris, 1912), pp. 82–3, discussed in Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, pp. 61–3. On the king's motives see Aryeh Graboïs, "The Crusade of Louis VII, King of France: A Reconsideration," in *Crusade and Settlement: Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and Presented to R.C. Smail*, ed. Peter Edbury (Cardiff: University College Cardiff Press, 1985), pp. 95–104; Aryeh Graboïs, "Louis VII pèlerin," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Eglise de France* 74 (1988), pp. 5–22.

12 Geoffrey Koziol, "England, France, and the Problem of Sacrality in Twelfth-Century Ritual," in *Cultures of Power: Lordship, Status, and Process in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Thomas N. Bisson (Philadelphia, 1995), pp. 124–48

13 Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), pp. 75–6.

14 John Gillingham, *Richard I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 3.

15 Walter Scott, *The Talisman: A Tale of the Crusaders* (London, 1825) is probably the most famous novel in this regard, while Sharon Kay Penman, *Lionheart* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 2011) is a recent example of the various novels that continue to center around Richard's endeavors on the Third Crusade. Many of the films that feature Richard as a crusader tend to be about Robin Hood, though Cecil B. DeMille's *The Crusades* (1935) focuses on Richard in this immensely fictitious, cinematic account of the Third Crusade.

16 Cf. Jean Flori, *Richard the Lionheart: King and Knight*, trans. Jean Birrell (Westport: Praeger, 2006). The intersection of crusading and chivalry is explored more broadly in Jean Flori, *Croisade et Chevalerie: XIe–XIIe Siècles* (Brussels: De Boeck Université, 1998).

17 Cf. Jonathan Riley-Smith, "Crusading as an Act of Love," *History* 65 (1980), pp. 177–92.

18 Régine Pernoud, *Martin of Tours: Soldier, Bishop, Saint*, trans. Michael J. Miller (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2006), pp. 171–2, argues that as a pilgrimage destination it ranked behind only Jerusalem, Rome, and Santiago de Compostella.

19 Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. William Stubbs (London, 1868–71), iii, pp. 36–7.

20 James Brundage, *Richard Lion Heart* (New York: Sribner, 1974), p. 28.

21 Gregory VIII, *Audita tremendi*, p. 8: "non solum peccatum habitatorum eius sed et nostrum et totius populi christiani."

22 Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West, 1099–1187* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 176–7. Henry, for instance, saw the disasters of 1187 not as the work of Muslims but instead as the will of Christ.

23 *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis*, ed. William Stubbs (London: Longman, 1867), vol. 2, p. 147.

24 Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 89.

25 Tyerman, *God's War*, pp. 171–5.

26 Thomas F. Madden, *A Concise History of the Crusades* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), pp. 61–3.

27 Thomas Abridge, *The Greatest Knight: The Remarkable Life of William Marshal, the Power behind Five English Thrones* (New York: Ecco, 2014), pp. 137, 157, 160.

28 Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 42.

29 Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 40–1. For examples of a more favorable view see Hans Mayer, "Henry II of England and the Holy Land," *English Historical Review* 97 (1982), pp. 721–39; Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, pp. 207–50.

30 Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 43.

31 W.L. Warren, *Henry II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), p. 145, suggests that this component was likely due to the fact that the papal legate who presided over the

Ivry negotiations had been originally dispatched to encourage the monarchs to set aside their differences in order to aid the Holy Land against the rising threat Saladin.
32 Warren, *Henry II*, p. 148.
33 Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 45–6.
34 Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade*, p. 8.
35 Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 47.
36 Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 87.
37 Turner and Heiser, *The Reign of Richard Lionheart*, p. 118.
38 Richard of Devizes, *Chronicon*, ed. and trans. John Appleby (London, 1963), p. 9. "Si invenissem emptorem, Londoniam vendidissem."
39 Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 118.
40 Brundage, *Richard Lion Heart*, p. 69.
41 Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade*, pp. 19–20.
42 Richard of Devizes, *Chronicon*, p. 7. "quod dum peregrinaretur ad lesionem Anglie terminus suos non excederent."
43 Turner and Heiser, *The Reign of Richard Lionheart*, p. 83.
44 Turner and Heiser, *The Reign of Richard Lionheart*, p. 82.
45 Michael Markowski, "Richard Lionheart: Bad King, Bad Crusader?" *Journal of Medieval History* 23 (1997), pp. 351–65.
46 Madden, *A Concise History of the Crusades*, p. 97.
47 Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. William Stubbs, 4 vols., Rolls Series 51 (London, 1868–71), iii, p. 213.
48 Howden, *Chronica*, iii, p. 233. "si Deus fecerit ei vindictam de inimicus suis, et pacem dederit, veniet ad terminum statutum ad succurendum illis conta paganos."
49 Godfrey of Boullion being an obvious exception here, though even his remembrance at times was infused with a quasi-monarchical component.
50 John Gillingham, "Some Legends of Richard the Lionheart: Their Development and Their Influence," in *Richard Coeur de Lion in History and Myth*, ed. Janet L. Nelson (London: King's College London CLAMS, 1992), p. 59.
51 Riley-Smith, *The Crusades, Christianity, and Islam*, p. 60.
52 Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 397.
53 Riley-Smith, *The Crusades, Christianity, and Islam*, p. 59.
54 Ronnie Ellenblum, *Crusader Castles and Modern Histories* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 35.

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10

JEWISH MEMORY AND THE CRUSADES

The Hebrew crusade chronicles and protection from Christian violence

Rebecca Rist

This chapter investigates the notion of collective memory, memorialization and the Crusades. Through the medium of the Hebrew crusade chronicles, especially those of Shelomo bar Shimshon and Ephraim of Bonn, it examines Jewish memories of crusading and in particular the theme of papal protection in order to explore how Jewish communities remembered the impact of Christian violence. Jewish writers were anxious to ensure the safety of their communities in Western Europe and grateful for statements of papal protection. They fully acknowledged that popes had always played and would continue to play an important role in safeguarding their well-being and determining their future. Yet although contemporary and later Jewish writers might value papal protection more highly than that of monarchs, emperors or clergy, as we shall see, they also recognized that its limits were carefully circumscribed.

In examining medieval chronicles, the historian is always faced with the complex problem of memory, in particular the formation of collective memory: that 'social reality transmitted and sustained through the conscious efforts and institutions of the group'.[1] During the High Middle Ages – by which we mean the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries – historiography was not the chief conduit for preserving Jewish memory.[2] Halakha, philosophy and Kabbalah were important for religious and intellectual creativity.[3] By contrast, histories and chronicles were often disregarded unless they were of halakhic importance or were subsumed under theology or law. Hence historians have argued that memory was preserved through ritual and liturgy which were both prioritized over historical compositions.[4]

The creation of collective memory during the medieval period – whether pertaining to majority Christian or minority Jewish communities – is highly complex. We know that in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Christian ideas about Jews and Judaism were formed by the clergy and the literate higher echelons of society. It is therefore much more difficult to evaluate the degree to which

they typify the ideas of those who have left no record of their views.[5] Similarly the nature of the surviving evidence means that a Jewish perspective most frequently derives from an exclusive and highly learned minority of rabbis and community leaders. Indeed some historians have claimed that – by contrast to the writings of these elites – tales and witticisms in 'folk polemic' reflected the views of Jews who were not learned enough to appreciate more abstruse and complicated discussions.[6] However that may be, in general fear of conversion to Christianity and more generally a desire to protect communities from hostile external influences encouraged strictures on reading Christian literature and the circulation of polemics defending Judaism and attacking Christianity.[7]

A consideration of geography is also crucial when assessing medieval collective memory. Although the culture of the written word seems to have been generally more widespread among Jewish than Christian communities, the difference appears smaller in Mediterranean regions than in northern Europe where until the thirteenth century clerics were usually the only Christians able to read and write.[8] Correspondingly, Jewish–Christian relations seem to have been less tense in the Mediterranean Latin West than in northern parts of Europe.[9] In the eleventh and twelfth centuries Jews in Germany and Northern France were apparently much more hostile to their Christian neighbours than those in Spain and Portugal, although, as we know, in the Iberian peninsula relations deteriorated in the late medieval and early modern periods.[10] Nevertheless, despite often difficult relations with Christians, vibrant Jewish communities did exist in Germany – an unambiguously Christian area of medieval Europe – and these disseminated cultural and intellectual ideas far and wide.[11] Indeed the evidence suggests that all over northern Europe Jewish communities were not only busy producing their own literature, but knew about and even borrowed each other's works.[12] Such communities, like their Christian counterparts, flourished best in towns, both in terms of their own internal well-being and in relation to the exterior gentile world.[13]

Certainly the phenomenon of collective memory cannot be understood without an appreciation of the role played by historiography. As is normal with any minority community, Jewish historiography concerns itself both with the history of the Jews in its medieval context, and with the existential dilemmas Jews faced (and face) as a special group.[14] There has been much recent debate about the extent to which Jewish history is not just about the past experiences of Jews, but about how their present experiences determine their motivations, methods and perspectives, i.e. the manner in which they study it.[15] Some have claimed that Jewish writers have often refused to explore the idea of novelty in history – which meant that what they chose to remember correlated little with historical data in the modern sense – but rather passed over or even 'transcended' particular events and episodes.[16] Yet it is exceedingly difficult to determine whether this was a particularly Jewish characteristic.

These issues of collective memory and remembrance lead us to the related problem of historical consciousness. Some historians have argued that since both Christian and Jewish historical narratives were relatively rare in the early Middle

Ages, Jewish ideas about history differed little from Christian; that only from the beginning of the eleventh century did Jews deliberately try to unite sacred and non-sacred history into a collective, unified vision of a divine design: in other words into a schema of Jewish historical consciousness.[17] Hence there has been much recent discussion of the idea of collective memory and the development of the perception of historical facts down through the ages.[18]

Yet the notion of collective memory is particularly pertinent when we examine those eleventh- and twelfth-century chronicles which depict the effect that the Crusades had on Jewish communities during the period. Although some of the Hebrew crusade chronicles were written long after the circumstances they described, many were contemporary, and in these we would expect to find more concrete and abundant evidence for papal–Jewish interaction. Jewish chroniclers – unsurprisingly since their aim was to provide a narrative chronology dealing with important people and major events – were sometimes interested in how the papacy's pronouncements immediately affected their communities; hence they do refer, if infrequently, to popes. Admittedly there are problems in knowing how to read these texts. It has been argued, for example, that, except for times of messianic fervour when there might be a sudden renewal of interest in contemporary history, writers of medieval Hebrew chronicles usually absorbed what they recorded into 'old and established conceptual frameworks' rather than recognizing 'novelty in passing events'.[19]

Be that as it may, chronicles, composed and re-composed by different individuals with a variety of agendas and perspectives, were united by the common goal of attempting to ensure the defence of Jewish communities and Judaism.[20] Hence the issue of papal authority and the papacy's ability to give adequate protection resurfaced at times of conflict and crisis. Even such occasional references to the papacy, whether direct or indirect, are thus useful to the historian who attempts to understand how Jewish communities perceived particular pontiffs. At times chronicles exhibit hostility to the papacy; at others they are well disposed. Two texts in particular, *The Terrible Event of 1007*, often referred to as the '1007 Anonymous', and the First Crusade chronicle of Shelomo bar Shimshon provide insights not only on what Jews thought about individual popes, but their ideas about the papacy as an institution.

Although the anonymous chronicler of *The Terrible Event of 1007* does not record a crusade, it is nevertheless extremely relevant to our understanding of Jewish–papal relations since it deals with the issue of Christian violence against Jews and reveals that a pope could be presented very favourably by Jewish writers – in contrast, as we shall see, to some later chroniclers whose concern was to memorialize Christian violence which resulted specifically from the Crusades. Probably writing after 1220, this anonymous chronicler detailed an outbreak of violence against Jews in 1007 during the reign of Duke Robert the Pious/King Robert II of France (972–1031).[21] He records how the king, the queen and their ministers were swayed by popular demands that the Jews should be exterminated since '"this people's laws and beliefs are different from those of all other nations"'.[22]

Accordingly, the king summoned the Jews of his kingdom and demanded on pain of death that they convert to Christianity, at which point they decided they were prepared to die as martyrs.[23] Many were then killed and in response to this outrage, one of the great rabbis of the eleventh century, Rabbi Ya'acov bar Yakutiel, declared to those who had murdered them that he would appeal on their behalf to the pope.[24] He then travelled to Rome to appeal to the pontiff, probably Pope John XVIII (1003–1009).[25] Addressing him as 'head of the nations', Yakutiel asked him to send letters ordering an end to the massacres and to rule that no gentile should be allowed to kill or forcibly convert Jews.[26] In return he promised 200 literaria (pounds) for the papal treasury, which although not strictly a bribe – it was customary for petitioners of means to offer a sum to the papal curia – was a very large sum: and in addition 12 horses and 200 silver shekels for the travelling expenses of the bishop who would carry the letter of protection. Having summoned the rabbis of Rome to look after Yakutiel, the pope deliberated with his bishops for 15 days, while the Jews prayed for papal intervention.[27] The conclusion was indeed favourable: a bishop was despatched with letters of protection; the decree of Robert was cancelled and the pontiff promised that he would help them in the future in any way they needed.[28] This is certainly an account which presents a pope in a very favourable light.

By comparison with this text we have the example of the First Crusade chronicle of Shelomo bar Shimshon, writing circa 1140. Following the call by Urban II (1088–1099) for the First Crusade at the Council of Clermont in 1095, attention to papal influence on the well-being of Jewish communities in Western Europe resurfaces in Jewish chronicles. It has been suggested that the Hebrew crusade chronicles subordinate the description of specific historical events to the elaboration of a grand historical drama in which the Jewish people play a unique role.[29] This of course was not special to medieval Jewish writing; Christian writers too can see history as a series of events enabling God's plans to unfold: in their case, for Salvation.[30] Yet in the case of these crusade chronicles we see a special significance put on the events themselves and an awareness of cataclysmic change.[31]

Some historians have argued that the new religious spirit of the eleventh century which ushered in the Crusades, combined with new social and economic factors, brought about a considerable deterioration in Christian attitudes to Jews and so to Jewish–Christian relations.[32] Hence the Crusades themselves, both for contemporary and later writers, can be seen as the symbol of a profound shift in attitudes in Latin Christianity.[33] As a result of the Crusades and the collective memory which they engendered for their communities, Jewish attitudes to Christians would also be profoundly altered, to the detriment of Jewish–Christian relations.

Certainly in contrast to the anonymous chronicler of *The Terrible Event of 1007*, the First Crusade chronicler Shelomo bar Shimshon, writing a number of years later, had little good to say about papal protection, referring explicitly to the pontiff as 'Satan . . . the pope of evil Rome'.[34] He described how 'Satan (the pope) intervened among the nations and they all gathered as one to fulfil the command', which suggests that he is referring to Urban II and his call for the First Crusade to

re-capture Jerusalem.[35] The identity of the pope in question, however, is not secure: it has been suggested that Shelomo was referring not to Urban II, but to Wibert of Ravenna, the anti-pope Clement III (1029–1100), and his denunciation of Jews who, following forced conversions, returned to Judaism after the crusaders recaptured Jerusalem from the Seljuk Turks.[36]

Yet even if the reference is to Wibert and Urban II played no part encouraging persecutions, some historians have argued that Urban's failure to anticipate crusader violence against Jewish communities made him culpable for the tragedy that befell Jewish communities and that he should, at the very least, have issued the 'Constitutio pro Iudaeis'.[37] This general letter, otherwise known as the 'Sicut Iudaeis', was a papal promise of protection for the Jews originally decreed by Gregory I (590–604) in 598 and re-issued by a number of Urban's successors at times of crisis.[38] However, Gregory I's 'Sicut Iudaeis' was originally issued in response to a petition from the Jews of Palermo who had complained about the anti-Jewish activities of its bishop; it had no connection with papal authorization of military action.[39]

Furthermore, Urban II's call on Christians to take the cross in 1095 was the first of its kind and, according to the accounts of his speech at Clermont, he envisaged that those who answered his call to arms would be from the knightly classes and no disordered rabble.[40] Perhaps naively, he seems to have been genuinely amazed by the popular response to his summons and, with no experience of previous Crusades on which to draw, failed to anticipate the ensuing mob violence against Jews. Consequently it did not cross his mind to issue 'Sicut Iudaeis' – unlike some of his successors.[41] It is not therefore surprising that there is no mention of papal protection nor should we expect any remembrance of the 'Constitutio pro Iudaeis'.

Since the Jewish First Crusade chronicles portray so many aspects of Christianity in derogatory terms Shelomo bar Shimshon's anti-papal rhetoric is not particularly remarkable. It has been suggested that such negative portrayals were an outlet for the rage felt by Jewish communities facing severe persecution, and, even more, an attempt to consolidate the defence of their communities against forces threatening Jewish identity itself: in the face of crusader atrocities the narratives emphasize the importance of martyrdom or *qiddush ha-Shem* – 'sanctifying the name of God' – for Rhenish Jews, while several times Jewish women are represented as willing to sacrifice themselves and their children for their faith.[42]

To what extent does the issue of papal protection re-occur in chronicles recording later Crusades? One might expect that popes would appear again in chronicles narrating the events of the Second Crusade authorized by Pope Eugenius III (1145–1153) in his general letter, 'Quantum praedecessores' of 1145 to rescue the County of Edessa, the first crusader state in the twelfth century to have reverted to Muslim control. The chronicler Ephraim of Bonn (1132–1200), who would doubtless have heard stories about the persecutions suffered by the Jewish communities of the Rhine at the hands of those taking part in the First Crusade, records in his *Sefer Zekhirah* (*Book of Remembrance*) that on the eve of the Second Crusade, a mob again attacked Jews on the pretext of avenging Christ – this time in France – and that

royal officials had to be bribed to ensure protection.[43] Many Jews suffered financially because, as Ephraim explained:

> a lot of their fortune has been taken away, for thus the king of France has ordered that in the case of anyone who volunteers to go to Jerusalem, if he owes money to the Jews his debt will be forgiven.[44]

In other words, Louis VII of France had decreed that interest on debts owed by anyone who volunteered to crusade to Jerusalem would be cancelled, and these were often the very people to whom Jews had loaned money.[45]

Nevertheless, Ephraim also notes that in England the Second Crusade had less severe repercussions for Jews; King Stephen (1135–1154) 'had it in his heart to defend them and save their lives and property' from crusader excesses.[46] It has been argued that Eugenius III's re-issue of the 'Constitutio pro Iudaeis' at the beginning of his pontificate was in anticipation of renewed pogroms on the eve of the Second Crusade,[47] yet there is no direct mention in the chronicle either of Eugenius III or of 'Quantum praedecessores' – even though this general letter specifically regulated that:

> All those who are encumbered with debts and undertake so holy a journey with pure hearts need not pay usury on past loans; and if they or others on their behalf are bound by oath or faith to usurious contracts we absolve them from them by apostolic authority.[48]

Unlike the anonymous chronicler of *The Terrible Event of 1007* and Shelomo bar Shimshon, Ephraim apparently considered this important papal pronouncement irrelevant to the immediate purposes of his narrative. Yet although he says nothing specific about papal activity, we can deduce from his text that Louis VII took Eugenius III's 'Quantum praedecessores' very seriously;[49] as we have noted, Ephraim specifically blamed the king for cancelling the interest owed to Jews by crusaders.[50] Indeed, Louis identified Jews in particular as among the principal moneylenders in his kingdom, and in 1146 issued a stern edict releasing crusaders from all obligations to them beyond the repayment of the principal and forbidding them from recovering interest lost through profits generated by pledges, especially on land.[51]

So Jewish writers were obviously concerned to ensure the safety of their communities in Western Europe and – when they occurred – grateful for statements of papal protection. We know from other Jewish texts of the period, in particular polemics and disputations, that they were also highly critical of Christian beliefs about the papacy, in particular the theory of Apostolic Succession. Yet Jews fully acknowledged that popes had always played and would continue to play an important role in safeguarding their well-being and determining their future. Nevertheless, although contemporary and later Jewish writers often valued papal protection more highly than that of monarchs, emperors or other clergy, they also knew it had its circumscribed limits. In particular, the Hebrew crusade chronicles

show that the collective memory of the impact of Christian violence on Jewish communities would remain undimmed for centuries to come.

Notes

1 Yosef Yerushalmi, *Zakhor. Jewish History and Memory* (Seattle and London, 1982), p. xv; see also Moshe Rosman, *How Jewish is Jewish History?* (Oxford and Portland, 2007), p. 50; David Myers and David Ruderman, 'Preface', in *The Jewish Past Revisited: Reflections on Modern Jewish Histories*, ed. D.N. Myers and D.B. Ruderman (New Haven and London, 1998), p. xiii; Amos Funkenstein, *Perceptions of Jewish History* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford, 1993), pp. 3–10; Susan Einbinder, *No Place of Rest. Jewish Literature, Expulsion, and the Memory of Medieval France* (Philadelphia, 2009), p. 3; p. 9.
2 For example, Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*, p. 39.
3 Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*, p. 52.
4 For example, Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*, pp. 39–42; Susan Einbinder, *Beautiful Death. Jewish Poetry and Martyrdom in Medieval France* (Princeton and Oxford, 2002), p. 35; p. 51; Ivan Marcus, *Rituals of Childhood. Jewish Acculturation in Medieval Europe* (New Haven and London, 1996), pp. 1–17.
5 Anna Abulafia, 'Christians and Jews in the High Middle Ages: Christian Views of Jews', in *The Jews of Europe in the Middle Ages (Tenth to Fifteenth Centuries). Proceedings of the International Symposium held at Speyer, 20–25 October 2002*, ed. C. Cluse (Turnhout, Belgium, 2004), p. 27.
6 David Berger, *The Jewish–Christian Debate in the High Middle Age. A Critical Edition of the Nizzahon Vetus* (Philadelphia, 1979), p. 21.
7 Peter Schäffer, 'Jews and Christians in the High Middle Ages: *The Book of the Pious*', in *The Jews of Europe in the Middle Ages (Tenth to Fifteenth Centuries). Proceedings of the International Symposium held at Speyer, 20–25 October 2002*, ed. C. Cluse, p. 35; p. 37; p. 39.
8 Alfred Haverkamp, 'The Jews of Europe in the Middle Ages: By Way of Introduction', in *The Jews of Europe in the Middle Ages (Tenth to Fifteenth Centuries). Proceedings of the International Symposium held at Speyer, 20–25 October 2002*, ed. C. Cluse, p. 12.
9 See Haverkamp, 'The Jews of Europe in the Middle Ages', pp. 14–15; Abulafia, 'Christians and Jews in the High Middle Ages', p. 20. For Jewish literature in the wake of the Spanish expulsion and in the sixteenth century see Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*, pp. 57–75. For the mass conversions in Spain in 1391 and the particular dynamic of Jewish–Christian relations in terms of literature and politics in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the problem of Conversi see David Nirenberg, 'Spanish "Judaism" and "Christianity" in an Age of Mass Conversion', in *Rethinking European Jewish History*, ed. J. Cohen and M. Rosman (Portland, 2009), pp. 149–72; Ram Ben-Shalom, 'The Social Context of Apostacy Among Fifteenth-Century Spanish Jewry', in *Rethinking European Jewish History*, ed. J. Cohen and M. Rosman, pp. 173–98. For the particular complexities involved in understanding Jewish memory in Spain in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries see David Myers, 'Of Marranos and Memory: Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi and the Writing of Jewish History', in *Jewish History and Jewish Memory: Essays in Honour of Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi*, ed. E. Carlebach, J.M. Efron and D.N. Myers (Hanover and London, 1988), pp. 1–21. For the complex relationship between Jews and Christians in Spain in the seventeenth century and the Marranos see Yosef Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court to Italian Ghetto. Isaac Cardoso. A Study in Seventeenth Century Marranism and Jewish Apologetics* (New York and London, 1971), especially pp. xii–xix; for the Marranos see pp. 1–50; for the Messiah see pp. 302–49; pp. 350–412; pp. 413–72; pp. 473–80. For the plight of Jews in early modern Europe see David Ruderman, 'Jewish Cultural History in Early Modern Europe: An Agenda for Future Study', in *Rethinking European Jewish History*, ed. J. Cohen and M. Rosman, pp. 95–111, *passim*. For the impact of the Reformation on the Jews see Miriam Bodian, 'The Reformation and the Jews', in *Rethinking European Jewish History*, ed. J. Cohen and M. Rosman, pp. 112–32, *passim*. For modern political theory about the

Jews, including the Enlightenment view of the Middle Ages and Medieval Philosophy see Funkenstein, *Perceptions of Jewish History*, pp. 220–56, *passim*, especially pp. 234–47.

10 Avraham Grossman, 'The Cultural and Social Background of Jewish Martyrdom in Germany in 1096', in *Juden und Christen zur Zeit der Kreuzzuge herausgegeben von Alfred Haverkamp*, ed. A. Haverkamp (Sigmaringen, 1999), pp. 77–9.

11 Schäfer, 'Jews and Christians in the High Middle Ages': *The Book of the Pious'*, in *The Jews of Europe in the Middle Ages (Tenth to Fifteenth Centuries). Proceedings of the International Symposium held at Speyer, 20–25 October 2002*, ed. C. Cluse, p. 30. For discussion of the idea of historical tradition in Jewish communities in Germany in the late Middle Ages see Frantisek Graus, 'Historische Traditionen über juden im spätmittelalter (Mitteleuropa)', in *Zur geschichte der juden im deutschland des späten mittelalters und der frühen neuzeit herausgegeben von Alfred Haverkamp*, ed. A. Haverkamp (Stuttgart, 1981), pp. 1–26.

12 Abulafia, 'Christians and Jews in the High Middle Ages', p. 24; see also Ephraim Kanarfogel, *Jewish Education and Society in the High Middle Ages* (Detroit, 1992), pp. 15–17; Robert Bonfil, *Jewish Life in Renaissance Italy*, trans. A. Oldcom (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1994), pp. 125–6; Yehuda Bialer and Estelle Fink, *Jewish Life in Art and Tradition. Based on the Collection of the Sir Isaac and Lady Edith Wolfson Museum, Hechal Shlomo, Jerusalem* (London, 1976), p. 88.

13 Haverkamp, 'The Jews of Europe in the Middle Ages', pp. 14–15.

14 Myers and Ruderman, 'Preface', in *The Jewish Past Revisited: Reflections on Modern Jewish Histories*, ed. D.N. Myers and D.B. Ruderman, p. x; Haverkamp, 'The Jews of Europe in the Middle Ages', p. 8.

15 Jeremy Cohen, 'Introduction', in *Rethinking European Jewish History*, ed. J. Cohen and M. Rosman, p. 1.

16 Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*, pp. 43–4; p. 51; p. 52.

17 For example, Funkenstein, *Perceptions of Jewish History*, pp. 15–16.

18 Eli Yassif, *The Hebrew Folktale: History, Genre, Meaning*, trans. J.S. Teitelbaum (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1999), p. 312; Funkenstein, *Perceptions of Jewish History*, pp. 22–49.

19 Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*, p. 36.

20 For discussion of the role of chronicles in the study of Jewish history and the complex combination of history and myth in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries see, Ephraim Carlebach, 'Between History and Myth: the Regensburg Expulsion in Josel of Rosheim's Sefer ha-miknah', in *Jewish History and Jewish Memory: Essays in Honour of Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi*, ed. E. Carlebach, J.M. Efron and D.N. Myers, pp. 40–53.

21 *Sefer gezerot sarfat ve-ashkenaz*, ed. A.M. Habermann (Jerusalem, 1971), pp. 19–21; Kenneth Stow has discussed the text in great detail in Kenneth Stow, *The '1007 Anonymous' and Papal Sovereignty: Jewish Perceptions of the Papacy and Papal Policy in the High Middle Ages* (Cincinatti, 1984), where he argued for a thirteenth-century dating and therefore I give only a brief summary of it here. The debate on the dating of this text is very complex. See Robert Chazan, '1007–1012, Initial Crisis for Northern European Jewry', *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 39 (1971), 101–17; Stow, *The '1007 Anonymous' and Papal Sovereignty*, p. 26. I am grateful to Stow who has also very recently discussed with me the idea that the chronicle was written after 1220. See also Robert Chazan who disputed Stow's dating of the text in Robert Chazan, 'Review of Kenneth Stow, The "1007 Anonymous" and Papal Sovereignty', *Speculum* 62 (1987), 728–31.

22 *Sefer gezerot sarfat ve-ashkenaz*, ed. Habermann, p. 19.

23 *Sefer gezerot sarfat ve-ashkenaz*, ed. Habermann, p. 19.

24 *Sefer gezerot sarfat ve-ashkenaz*, ed. Habermann, p. 20.

25 For the bull of John XVIII which has not survived taking the Jews under papal protection see *The Apostolic See and the Jews, Vol. 1: Documents 492–1404*, ed. S. Simonsohn (Toronto, 1988), henceforward *Simonsohn*, p. 34.

26 *Sefer gezerot sarfat ve-ashkenaz*, ed. Habermann, pp. 20–1.

27 *Sefer gezerot sarfat ve-ashkenaz*, ed. Habermann, p. 21.

28 *Sefer gezerot sarfat ve-ashkenaz*, ed. Habermann, p. 21.

29 David Myers, *Resisting History. Historicism and its Discontents in German-Jewish Thought* (Oxford, 2003), p. 13.

30 Myers, *Resisting History*, p. 13.
31 Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*, p. 37. For discussion of the complexities surrounding the composition of the Hebrew chronicles of the First Crusade and of the collective memory which they record (and the projection of the survivor's conflicts and doubts onto the martyr to resolve dissonances between the survivor's weakness and the heroism of the martyr) see Robert Chazan, *Medieval Jewry in Northern France. A Political and Social History* (Baltimore and London, 1973), pp. 1–4; pp. 30–62; Robert Chazan, 'The Hebrew First Crusade Chronicles', *Revue des Études Juives* 133 (1974), 235–54; Robert Chazan, *European Jewry and the First Crusade* (London, 1987), pp. 40–9; Robert Chazan, *In the Year 1096. The First Crusade and the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1996), pp. 107–26; Robert Chazan, 'The Mainz Anonymous: Historiographic Perspectives', in *Jewish History and Jewish Memory: Essays in Honour of Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi*, ed. E. Carlebach, J.M. Efron and D.N. Myers, pp. 54–69; Jeremy Cohen, 'The Hebrew Crusade Chronicles in their Christian Cultural Context', in *Juden und Christen zur zeit der kreuzzuge herausgegeben von Alfred Haverkamp*, ed. A. Haverkamp (Sigmaringen, 1999), pp. 17–34; Robert Chazan, *God, Humanity and History. The Hebrew First Crusade Narratives* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 2000), pp. 124–39; Robert Chazan, *Fashioning Jewish Identity in Medieval Western Christendom* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 91–121; Robert Chazan, 'The First Crusade Narrative of R. Eliezer bar Nathan', in *Between Rashi and Maimonides. Themes in Medieval Jewish Thought, Literature and Exegis*, ed. E. Kanarfogel and M. Sokolow (New York, 2010), pp. 191–203. For the cultural and social background of Jewish martyrdom see, Grossman, 'The Cultural and Social Background of Jewish Martyrdom in Germany in 1096', pp. 73–86, *passim*.
32 See, for example, Hanz Liebeschütz, 'The Crusading Movement in its Bearing on the Christian Attitude Towards the Jewry', in *Essential Papers on Judaism and Christianity in Conflict*, ed. J. Cohen (New York and London, 1991), pp. 260–75 and especially pp. 271–2.
33 Haverkamp, 'The Jews of Europe in the Middle Ages', p. 5.
34 Shelomo bar Shimshon in *Sefer gezerot sarfat ve-ashkenaz*, ed. Habermann, p. 27; Eva Haverkamp, *Hebräische berichte über die judenverfolgungen während des ersten kreuzzugs herausgegaben von Eva Haverkamp* (Hanover, 2005), pp. 298–9. For discussion of the Hebrew chronicles of the First Crusade and their relationship to each other see footnote 31 above; also Anna Abulafia 'The Interrelationship between the Hebrew Chronicles on the First Crusade', *Journal of Semitic Studies* 27 (1982), 221–39; also on Rabbi Amnon of Mainz and his relationship to the First and Second Crusades see Ivan Marcus, 'A Pious Community and Doubt: *Qiddush Hashem* in Ashkenaz and the Story of Rabbi Amnon of Mainz', in *Julius Carlebach. Festschrift, Studien zur jüdischen Geschichte und Soziologie* (Heidelberg, 1992), pp. 97–113.
35 Shelomo bar Shimshon in *Sefer gezerot sarfat ve-ashkenaz*, ed. Habermann, p. 27.
36 See, for example, Solomon Grayzel, 'Pope Alexander III and the Jews', in *Salo W. Baron Jubilee Volume. American Academy for Jewish Research* (Jerusalem and New York, 1975) p. 556; Stow, *The '1007 Anonymous' and Papal Sovereignty*, p. 18; Kenneth Stow, 'Conversion, Apostacy and Apprehensiveness: Emicho of Flonheim and the Fear of the Jews in the Twelfth Century', *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies* 76, no. 4 (2001), 926. Earlier historians had attributed this protest to Urban II, see, for example, Cecil Roth, 'The Popes and the Jews', *Church Quarterly Review* 123 (1936/7), 79; and his entry (1971) 'Popes', in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem, 1971); another anti-pope who does not come off well in relation to the Jews is Benedict XIII (elected 1394) who was responsible for the Disputation of Tortosa (1413–1414) and a wave of persecution in the Iberian peninsula, see Roth, 'The Popes and the Jews', 83. For the Jewish and Christian accounts of the Disputation of Tortosa see *Judaism on Trial: Jewish-Christian Disputations in the Middle Ages*, ed. and trans. H. Maccoby (London and Toronto, 1982), pp. 168–86; pp. 187–215.
37 Solomon Grayzel, 'The Papal Bull "Sicut Iudeis"', in *Studies and Essays in Honour of Abraham A. Neuman* (Philadelphia and Leiden, 1962), p. 251.

38 For a discussion of the various re-issues of the 'Constitutio pro Iudaeis' see *The Church and the Jews in the Thirteenth Century*, ed. S. Grayzel, Vol. 1 (New York, 1996), henceforward *Grayzel, Vol. 1*, pp. 76–8; Solomon Grayzel, 'The Papal Bull "Sicut Iudaeis"', in *Essential Papers in Judaism and Christianity in Conflict*, ed. J. Cohen, pp. 231–59.

39 Gregory I, 'Sicut Iudaeis' (June 598), in *Simonsohn*, pp. 15–16; Abulafia, 'Christians and Jews in the High Middle Ages', p. 20.

40 See the description of Urban II's speech at Clermont in *The Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. R. Hill (Oxford, 1962), p. 1.

41 For possible issues which are not extant see Calixtus II, 'Sicut Iudaeis' (1119–24), *Simonsohn*, p. 44 and Eugenius III, 'Sicut Iudaeis' (1145–53), *Simonsohn*, p. 47 and discussed in *Grayzel, Vol. 1*, p. 76. For the extant issue of Alexander III see 'Sicut Iudaeis' (1159–1181), in *Simonsohn*, pp. 51–2.

42 Haverkamp, 'The Jews of Europe in the Middle Ages', p. 6; Abulafia, 'Christians and Jews in the High Middle Ages', p. 21; p. 25; Schäfer, 'Jews and Christians in the High Middle Ages', p. 33; Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*, p. 49; Bernard Blumenkranz, 'The Roman Church and the Jews', in *Essential Papers on Judaism and Christianity in Conflict*, ed. J. Cohen, p. 214; Cohen, 'The Hebrew Crusade Chronicles in their Christian Cultural Context', pp. 17–34; Einbinder, *Beautiful Death*, pp. 30–71. For the increased attention to militant female piety in the Hebrew chronicles and their similarity to contemporary representations of Christian female piety see especially, Abraham Grossman, *Pious and Rebellious. Jewish Women in Medieval Europe*, trans. J. Chipman (Waltham, 2004), pp. 198–211.

43 Ephraim of Bonn in *Sefer gezerot sarfat ve-ashkenaz*, ed. A.M. Habermann, p. 121. For a detailed discussion of the role of popes in this complex text see especially Robert Chazan, 'Rabbi Ephraim of Bonn's Sefer Zechirah', *Revue des Études Juives* 132 (1973), 119–26; Stow, *The '1007 Anonymous' and Papal Sovereignty*, pp. 4–5; p. 7; pp. 18–19; p. 21; p. 48.

44 Ephraim of Bonn in *Sefer gezerot sarfat ve-ashkenaz*, ed. Habermann, p. 121.

45 Ephraim of Bonn in *Sefer gezerot sarfat ve-ashkenaz*, ed. Habermann, p. 121; Kenneth Stow, *Alienated Minority: The Jews of Medieval Latin Europe* (Cambridge, MA and London, 1992), p. 113; Chazan, *Medieval Jewry in Northern France*, pp. 34–6.

46 Ephraim of Bonn in *Sefer gezerot sarfat ve-ashkenaz*, ed. Habermann, p. 121. By contrast several English chroniclers recorded an outbreak of violence in 1189–1190, associated with Richard I of England's preparations for the Third Crusade, against Jewish communities in King's Lynn, Stamford, Lincoln, York and Bury St Edmund's. See Ralph of Diceto, 'Opera Historica', in *Rolls Series* 68, ed. W. Stubbs (London, 1876, Kraus Reprint, 1965), Vol. 2, pp. 68–9; William of Newburgh, 'Chronicles of William of Newburgh', in *Rolls Series* 82, ed. R. Howlett (London, 1884, Kraus Reprint 1964), Vol. 1, Bk 4, pp. 293–9; Roger of Hoveden, 'Chronica', in *Rolls Series* 51, ed. W. Stubbs (London, 1871, Kraus Reprint, 1964), Vol. 3, pp. 12–13; 'Gesta regis Henrici Benedicti Abbatis', in *Rolls Series* 49, ed. W. Stubbs (London, 1867, 1965), Vol. 2, pp. 83–4; pp. 107–8. See, for example, the discussion in Richard Dobson, *The Jews of Medieval York and the Massacre of March 1190* (York, 1974), pp. 1–26.

47 Eugenius III, 'Sicut Iudaeis', in *Simonsohn*, p. 47. The bull has not survived and is known from its quotation in later editions of the text. See Grayzel, 'The Church and the Jews in the Thirteenth Century', in *Grayzel, Vol. 1*, p. 76. For scepticism about reading too much into papal texts about the Jews especially with respect to continuity and change see Kenneth Stow, 'The Pitfalls of Writing Papal Documentary History: Simonsohn's Apostolic See and the Jews', *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 85 (1995), 400: 'Most notably, scholars have calculated the regularity with which the bull "Sicut Iudaeis non" was reissued as a barometer of so-called favourable papal stances.'

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51 Stacey, 'Crusades, Martyrdom and the Jews of Norman England 1096–1190', in *Juden und Christien zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge herausgegeben von Alfred Haverkamp, Vorträge und Forschungen / konztanzer Arbeitskreiss für mittelalterliche Geschichte 47*, ed. A. Haverkamp (Sigmaringen, 1999), pp. 233–51, p. 241; Stow, *Alienated Minority*, pp. 113–14.

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11

FAMILY MEMORY AND THE CRUSADES

Nicholas L. Paul and Jochen G. Schenk

Introduction

Standing at the forefront of modern understandings of memory, theories of "social" and "collective" memory hold that understandings of and attitudes toward the past are not primarily individual, but inherently social: living within, and at the interstices between, groups and networks. Studies of social memory have highlighted the wide variety of different contexts in which collective memory can inhere (what Pierre Nora called the "organizations found in nature"),[1] but for Maurice Halbwachs, the theorist who first introduced the concept of social memory, the family always occupied a special place.[2] Because, "[o]ur kin communicate to us our first notions about people and things," the family was always the fundamental framework (*cadre*) of memory for Halbwachs.[3] As distinct from other groups, Halbwachs believed, families have specific mnemonic practices, are concerned with certain types of memories, and are likely to invoke the past to certain didactic and normative ends.[4] In the pre-modern world of the Crusades, the kin group occupied a central place at the core of other social structures, in politics and in other cultural traditions.[5] Therefore, if we are to understand how aspects of the crusading phenomenon were remembered or how aspects of the Crusades were constructed and represented within different communities, kinship must always occupy a special place in our inquiries.

The importance of family memory extends across many communities and cultures influenced or affected by the Crusades. Whether we choose to examine the elderly Syrian Arab aristocrat Usamah ibn Munquidh who collected his autobiographical reflections in a treatise on fortune in c. 1183, the Rhineland rabbi Ephraim of Bonn who chronicled massacres of the Jews in 1146, the Byzantine princess Anna Komnene who fiercely defended her father's handling of the First Crusade as Byzantium faced its sequel, or the villagers who told their stories to inquisitors

following the conquest of Occitania by the Albigensian crusade, all either explicitly or implicitly recall the implications of the Crusades for different communities through the framework of kinship.[6] As these examples teach us, it was within families that the destruction wreaked by Crusades was remembered, and within families that strategies for survival and resistance were negotiated.

It is from the perspective of Latin Christian Europe, however, that family memory has been seen to have played the greatest role not only in the memorialization of Crusades, but in shaping the very institutions of crusading. Crusade expeditions were enormously complex, expensive, risky, and potentially traumatic ventures, and so deciding whether to participate in these ventures and determining how to undertake them required the involvement of the immediate and sometimes also the more extended kin group. Given both the unfolding of the Crusades over time and the way in which crusading could be interpreted within the broader sweep of Christian salvation history, families were also critical in the transmission of ideas about the Crusades not only within but also between generations, defining institutions and shaping attitudes over time. Hence, in the Latin West, kinship structures were critical both practically and ideologically to the success and endurance of the Crusades. This chapter will track the most recent developments in scholarship concerning the family, memory, and the Crusades in a western European context.

What is a "family"? Kinship network, lineage, and familia

Before we talk about family memory, it seems prudent to say a few words about what medieval European societies and the historians who study them believed "the family" to be. Prudent, because the meaning of the Latin noun *familia* to describe the medieval nuclear family as well as its legally subservient household is quite different from that of its modern English translation "family," which commonly describes the nuclear unit formed by a husband and wife and their closest blood relatives; but also because our understanding of how medieval families (in the modern sense of the word) were structured and perceived of themselves has undergone drastic change over the last century. The historiographical arguments underpinning this change have been summarized brilliantly by David Crouch and others, and there is no need to outline them in detail here.[7] Suffice to say that the model for conceptualizing "family" has developed from one subjecting it entirely to the pressure of outside social and economic forces, which led to the progressive nuclearization of families,[8] to one dismissive of external influences and emphasizing continuity and complexity. The difference between the two models is enormous. Whereas the former – mainly the work of Karl Schmid and, most of all, George Duby – postulated a radical societal change around the year 1000, which transformed medieval aristocratic families (in France and Germany) from horizontally structured groups of individuals related by agnatic and cognatic kinship to a common ancestor into much narrower defined patrilineal ones with strict inheritance rules based on primogeniture, the latter acknowledges no such societal change and is generally more skeptical about the importance (and existence) of patrilinear primogeniture *strictu sensu*.

There are two main reasons for this paradigm shift from the Duby/Schmid model to its antithesis. The first is that the societal transformations postulated by Duby for France (especially the Mâconnais) and by Schmid for the Rhine region, which allegedly had caused families to change, have been called into question. In large parts of Europe (France and Germany included) they simply cannot be detected, rendering the thesis of a universal mutation of society around the year 1000 untenable.[9] The second is that the claim that around the same time families abandoned their horizontal structure and became strictly patrilinear now seems to be an exaggeration, or at least gross generalization, founded on disparate evidence and insufficient understanding of the relevant terminology.[10] There is no evidence, for example, that strict primogeniture was ever enforced in eleventh- and twelfth-century Champagne, where family structures continued to extend along maternal and paternal lines and where, therefore, "both the organization of aristocratic families and the ways in which they distributed property were far more complex and contingent than patrilineage with strict primogeniture would have allowed in practice."[11] Instead, it has been argued, ideas of family fluctuated during the High Middle Ages, depending on circumstance and the family "life cycle." Aristocrats tended to think about family in very narrow terms where property was concerned and after a married couple had produced legitimate children, for example, but they were perfectly willing to extend the notion of family to a wider circle of agnatic and cognatic relatives – the broader kinship – if they expected to gain social, political, or economic benefit from it.[12]

Family traditions of crusading

More recently historians interested in how aristocratic families shaped and expressed their dynastic identities have turned their attention to the impulses and shared strategies shaping collective behavior and family consciousness. With regard to our subject they have discovered, for example, that enthusiasm for crusading and support for military orders disseminated vertically within families but also horizontally across kinship groups, and that women (in their roles as wives and mothers) played an important part in communicating the religious sentiments associated with both. Key studies in this field, more often than not taking a prosopographical approach, have pointed out the amount of collective effort (material as well as spiritual) that went into the preparation of individual crusaders, the often close biological ties between crusaders traveling and acting together, and the longstanding personal ties and emotional bonds between families and the Holy Land which sometimes developed as a consequence.[13] The most extensive crusader kinship network uncovered so far centers on the French seigneurial families of Monthléry, Courtenay, and Le Puiset. It extended over large parts of central and northern France and deep into aristocratic society in the Latin East, producing more than 30 crusaders by the middle of the twelfth century, among them one king of Jerusalem, one count of Edessa, and one count of Jaffa.[14] Other networks which scholars have discussed centered on the earls of Warwick in England, the counts of Perche in northwestern France,

the counts of Berg in the Rhineland, and the counts of Schwarzburg in Thuringia, although traditions of crusading have been established for many more individual dynasties and regional nobilities stretching across Europe from Spain to Austria.[15]

The counts of Brienne in Champagne are one example of a noble family whose intense involvement in the Crusades over several generations placed them both at the heart of politics in the eastern Mediterranean and within a wide-ranging network of other committed crusading families from Champagne and Burgundy.[16] The Brienne crusading tradition began with Count Erard I, who endowed the abbey of Montiér-en-Der with a church and prebends before embarking on the First Crusade.[17] Erard's son Walter went on the Second Crusade in June 1147,[18] whereas Erard II of Brienne and his brother Andrew of Ramerupt both took the cross in 1189 (and died at Acre soon after, Andrew in October 1189, Erard early in 1191). Erard II's son Walter died as a crusader in southern Italy in 1205. Another son, John, embarked on a brilliant political career that saw him ascending the royal throne of Jerusalem in 1208 and the imperial throne of Constantinople in 1229, thus catapulting the counts of Brienne to the highest ranks of nobility.[19]

The counts of Brienne and their relatives the lords of Ramerupt continued to produce crusaders throughout the thirteenth century, among them Erard II of Ramerupt and his brother Henry of Vénizy, who both died during the Seventh Crusade (Henry en route, Erard II at Mansurah).[20] Perhaps the most prominent of all of this generation of Brienne crusaders, however, was John of Brienne's nephew, Walter IV of Brienne, who inherited the counties of Jaffa and Ascalon on the crusading frontier from his uncle. Captured at La Forbie in 1244, Walter was publicly tortured outside the walls of Jaffa before being transported to Cairo, where he died at the hands of disgruntled Muslim merchants whose caravans he once had raided. After the intervention of the French king Louis IX, Walter's remains were released and transported to Acre where in 1251 his cousin Margaret of Reynel had them buried in the local Hospitaller church. Walter's association with the Hospital reminds us that in addition to his crusading activity Walter, like other members of his family, was an active supporter of the crusading military orders, including the Templars and the Teutonic Knights both at home in Champagne and overseas.[21]

That all of this activity can be observed within a particular family is clearly not the result of random chance. The Brienne case is illustrative of a much wider phenomenon: across the medieval West, participation in the Crusades and support for crusading institutions like the military orders was seen to be a fundamental expression of membership in a given noble family. Indeed, this sense that crusading could lie at the heart of family identity is communicated by a variety of documents written or dictated by members of these families. One of the most eloquent testimonials to the place of crusading at the heart of a dynasty's identity is the epitaph composed in 1311 by the seneschal of Champagne, John of Joinville, and intended for the tomb of his great-grandfather Geoffrey III of Joinville (d. 1188) at the abbey of Clairvaux. In the epitaph, Joinville names many members of his family who were crusaders, alluding also to his own participation in the Seventh Crusade, during which he undertook to recover a piece of family memorabilia, the shield left in

Syria by his uncle Geoffrey V (d. 1204).[22] Another example of a clear expression of family consciousness, this time in the context of crusading institutions, is the charter enacted by the Burgundian lord Odo II of Grancey in favor of the Templar commandery of Bure in 1197. The garrulous document recapitulates Odo's family's long tradition of support for the Templars beginning in the 1130s, the time of his great-grandfather Raynald, and it closes with an affirmation of Odo's wish to uphold this tradition.[23] Because (as was often the case), the Grancey family's support for the military orders went hand-in-hand with participation in crusade expedition (another Raynald of Grancey, for example, had made extensive donations to the Templars during the siege of Acre in 1189), it is possible to see the charter as an affirmation of both of these intertwined traditions.[24]

Honour, obligation, and status

When they took the cross or made gifts to crusading institutions, members of medieval noble families believed that they were upholding responsibilities that came with membership in a particular kin group or lineage. This was precisely the message embedded at the heart of appeals to take the cross that emanated from central ecclesiastical authorities in the middle of the twelfth century. Borrowing from didactic language that was also used at grassroots level by monks, clerics, and by knights themselves to talk about the responsibilities that came with lordship, popes beginning with Eugenius III encouraged nobles to "follow in the footsteps" and uphold the "virtues" and "achievements" of their ancestors.[25] As popes and troubadours made clear in their calls for crusade, not fulfilling the expectations put in place by previous generations could have very serious consequences for an individual's honor and reputation. Where resources were stored for the purposes of prosecuting the Holy War by one generation, canon law eventually said it was the responsibility of heirs to make good on the crusading promise.

The perception that an individual was descended from a lineage of crusaders and that he or she actively sought to uphold that tradition also offered benefits. In the period following the First Crusade, legitimacy and status were increasingly associated with claims to heroic and even mythic ancestors.[26] These claims manifested in the sudden emergence and rapid proliferation of new statements of dynastic identity in the form of heraldry, elaborate sepulchral architecture, and a variety of forms of dynastic literature.[27] Whether they highlighted a patrilineal line of descent from the founder of a local lordship or pointed to a family's shared ancestral associations with higher-status dynasties, all of these texts and artworks had in common an emphasis on ancestors who were not only founding figures but models for moral instruction and political guidance. Their past behavior offered a template for future conduct as well as justification for one's past and present deeds and judgments. For the warrior aristocracy, violence represented a particularly important part of these fictional pasts such that, as Matilda Tomaryn Bruckner has observed, the "memory of violence," even in the form of fictitious narratives and mythical family histories, could act "as a model for past, present, and future," leaving a "strong impact

on human emotions . . . a key link to memory's imprint."[28] In a process echoing the "imaginative memory" through which monastic houses generated fictionalized origin stories, some families, such as the royal dynasty of England, began to trace their origins back to the Trojans, and others claimed descent or associations with Charlemagne and his relatives.

Because the Crusades represented a narrative space in which the lives of the European aristocracy intersected with an epic stage of heroic warfare with salvific and even eschatalogical implications, the crusading past was a source from which even the most modest families could reach to draw out exemplary ancestors. So while the Capetian royal dynasty might emphasize their associations with Charlemagne, world ruler and mythic founder of the crusade in Spain, the lords of Ardres in the Pas-de-Calais, Amboise in the Loire valley, and Lastours in the Limousin could point to heroes of the First Crusade among their ancestors. This they did, and as they did so their social status rose to place all three families in positions of regional prominence by the end of the twelfth century. Was crusading memory the driving force behind fortune's wheel in these cases? It is impossible to tell, although it is undeniable that the Crusades provided opportunities for political service and a basis for powerful shared experiences which could be invoked later in the forging of marriage alliances and bonds of political friendship. To return to the family of Brienne, there can be no doubt that crusading provided the family with opportunities to gain honor and real political advantage. Clearly, it was in the context of crusading that men like John of Brienne and his nephew Walter came to hold claims on major Mediterranean principalities, but the groundwork for their international careers had been laid during a century in which their ancestors had participated in Crusades to the Holy Land.[29]

Gears of tradition: the mechanics of family memory

A vast array of ideas and images relating to the crusading past circulated within medieval kinship networks. Some of these related to the lived experiences of crusaders, transmitted either directly or from second-hand knowledge; others were completely unrelated to the "real" historical crusading experience, emerging in response to cultural and political imperatives. The mechanisms which facilitated the transmission of these memories, and which in turn potentially shaped and selected the contents of the family's discourse about the crusading past were probably more complex than we will ever, with a limited number of surviving sources, completely understand. Yet those surviving testimonials demonstrate unequivocally that certain pathways and contexts for transmission were critical to the formation of strong commemorative traditions associated with crusading.

In considering the varying ways that the crusading past was present for medieval families, it is possible to identify two general modes of remembrance which, although they were ultimately interrelated, can be distinguished for us by the way that they appear in our sources. The first mode was related to the continuous, usually peripatetic practice of medieval lordship, its calendar punctuated by rituals of

feudal obedience, calls for judicial arbitration, and the maintenance of relationships with religious communities. The second mode was celebratory and instructional, and appears most often in the context of the liturgical commemoration of the dead, the education of young members of the household, and as part of the articulation of familial identity over and against a threat or challenge. In a very general way, these two modes might be related to the twofold division of collective memory proposed by Jan Assman into "communicative memory" (living, autobiographical memories of the recent past passed through everyday communication) and "cultural memory" (formal, ceremonially communicated memories of the distant and mythic past, often textually mediated or ritually performed by special memory carriers).[30] The vicissitudes of memory studies dictate that the terms of analysis often shift depending on the group under consideration, and with regard to the medieval noble family, we find that while the two modes can be observed separately, they often also worked in concert with each other.

The experience of aristocratic life in the central Middle Ages was above all associated with the daily practice of lordship, usually in the context of the ceaseless itineration. As they moved throughout and occasionally beyond the bounds of their domains, the medieval noble household came into contact with people, places, and communities, any of which could serve as the family's *lieux de mémoire*. This is most apparent in the context of religious communities which preserved the liturgical memory of ancestors through prayer and the observation of anniversaries. Anniversaries were of course special times when the attention of living descendants would be directed to the life and example of an ancestor and commemoration was enhanced through the use of tomb monuments, epitaphs, and liturgical ceremonies. Epitaphs and *planctus* hymns sung in memory of the dead were both genres in which crusading deeds were celebrated and held up as examples for subsequent generations to follow.[31] We have already seen how the epitaph composed by John of Joinville for his great-grandfather provided an opportunity for him to reflect on his family's crusading tradition. Another epitaph of roughly the same period which was placed at the tomb of John, lord of Eppes (d. 1293), in the cathedral of Laon compared his crusading feats favorably to the epic heroes Roland and Oliver and was written, appropriately enough, in Old French verse.[32] If the form of John of Eppes' epitaph is highly suggestive of performance, the survival of the *planctus* composed for Raymond Berengar IV of Barcelona (d. 1162) among many other commemorative materials composed at the Benedictine abbey of Ripoll where he was buried makes it clear that songs were composed which celebrated the memory of dead crusaders explicitly in terms of their martial achievements in the theater of Holy War.[33]

While visits by the laity to religious institutions and other interactions with religious communities did not always coincide with opportunities to observe anniversaries, this did not diminish the significance of these occasions for the invocation of a family's crusading past. The presence of the lord in close proximity to a religious community also provided an opportunity for the community to ask for a review and confirmation of the rights and privileges granted them by the lord's

ancestors and relatives. As in the example of Odo II of Grancey cited above, the charters of confirmation and pancartes that resulted from these processes often explicitly state the invocation of the memory of proceeding generations of the family. Especially the charter collections of the military orders, which because of their close association with the Holy Land proved particularly attractive for prospective as well as returning crusaders, soon became veritable repositories of crusader memory. When read out to subsequent generations of family members, charters issued in support of the Holy Land and in recognition of the help and friendship received on crusade invited the relatives of crusaders to imagine and act upon their ancestors' past deeds.[34] Thus, for example, in 1284 Milo IV of Noyers and his wife Mary of Crécy endowed the Templars with the village and lordship of Vermenton,

> considering and addressing all the great selfless and charitable acts performed daily by the brothers of the knighthood of the Temple both this side and beyond the sea, never fearing to spill their blood against the enemies of the Faith to avenge the shame (*la honte*) of Jesus Christ, and especially the courteous and honorable deeds which the mentioned brothers have performed for our predecessors and for us, and which they still perform, have performed, and perform often.[35]

The approbation which the religious community offered the lord in return for the upholding of dynastic traditions of patronage, moreover, could subtly reinforce other patterns of ancestral behavior. The clauses in medieval charters which signal an individual's decision to take the cross as a crusader or (much more rarely) chronicling some aspect of their crusading experience are eye-catching to the modern historian. To that individual's descendants and heirs, however, who heard those words read aloud to them before they placed an image of their lordly identity in the form of a seal alongside the image of their ancestor the message was clear: you are next in line.

The landscape in many regions was thick with markers of a family's crusading past, much of it in the form of physical memorabilia of crusaders and their exploits. In the Limousin we find references to the tower of a castle named after a family's famous crusading ancestor and decorated with the memorabilia he brought back from crusade.[36] In Anjou, objects associated with several generations of the crusading comital family were deliberately enshrined within the family's own proprietary spaces, such as castle chapels and collegiate foundations. Places, names, and objects associated with the crusading past are suggestive of the many opportunities for the more casual "communicative" invocation of the past that must have featured in the daily lives of those living in these commemorative landscapes. But it is striking that many of these objects, for instance those in Anjou, were also embedded within rituals. A golden flower given to Count Fulk IV le Réchin of Anjou by Pope Urban II in 1096 during the preaching of the First Crusade, for instance, was meant to be carried before the counts of Anjou every Easter. The ivory tau given to Count Fulk V of Anjou as a gift by the Fatimid emir of Egypt was processed out to meet the

count when he first arrived at his palace in Angers. We cannot be sure how often these rites were observed, but the survival of prescriptive instructions regarding their use written by the counts themselves and reiterating their links with the Crusades reveal active efforts to render solemn and institutional or "cultural" (to use Assman's term) the place of the Crusades within family memory.[37]

Relics represented the most powerful and precious of objects that returned with crusaders. Relics of the holy places, and especially relics of the Passion, helped to direct the minds of the faithful toward the Holy Land. While some of these were seen to be properly enshrined in religious communities, especially in the houses of the Templars or the Cistercian order, others were fiercely guarded within more private familial environments.[38] This behavior, exemplified by the prolonged struggle between the children of the crusader Manasses of Hierges and the Benedictine abbey of Brogne over possession of a major relic of the True Cross that returned with Manasses from the East, is highly suggestive of the special significance of such crusading objects within noble families.[39] These objects presumably had manifold meanings, many of them deeply personal. Anne Lester has argued that aristocratic women, in particular, may have treasured Passion relics secured by their crusading husbands as remembrances not only of the suffering of Christ, but of the suffering of their husbands and families in the context of crusading.[40]

We have seen that medieval lords, as they moved through their lordships, encountered a stream of references that pointed both backwards to their ancestors' crusading past and hence also forwards to their own potential involvement. It would seem to be a safe assumption that the celebration of crusaders' anniversaries, the confirmation of their customs, and the handling and adoration of their objects would at least sometimes inspire conversation – a discourse about the ancestral crusading past. But do we have any access to that discourse? Always acknowledging the profound limitations of our evidence, sources do survive which claim to represent the shared understanding of the past of particular noble dynasties. These dynastic historical narratives were written throughout Latin Christian Europe, with the majority composed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. These were, almost universally, "living texts" circulated, continued, and adapted for generations after their composition. As major monuments to the family's past, they give a clear indication of the place of the Crusades within the "cultural memory" of particular medieval families. Many of these texts, however, either explicitly describe or more generally allude to the existence of vibrant cultures of storytelling within the medieval household, the place where "communicative memory" most often resided.

Dynastic histories, such as those written for the ruling families of Anjou, Amboise, Guines, Hainaut, and Poland advertise the presence at the noble court and in the household of *relatores* – storytellers whose responsibility it is to pass on wisdom about the family past. According to one narrative, Lambert of Ardres' *History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres*, the young heir to the lordships of Guines and Ardres Arnold II (d. 1220) was accompanied by older men who could recite dynastic history alongside a variety of other genres, including Arthurian romance and the history of the Crusades.[41] Even though, in the case of the Guines and Ardres

example, the storyteller is sought out for the purposes of entertainment to pass a wintry night in the castle of Ardres, here as in other dynastic histories, the primary function of family storytelling was to educate – especially to help younger generations to discern good and bad examples from their family's past.[42] Stories about crusading ancestors were thus primarily didactic, but their message was not only that young men should take the cross and fight as crusaders, nor were the stories concerned only with the experiences of male family members. Clearly drawing, in some instances, upon the memories of women in the household, the dynastic narratives reveal the real dangers that crusading could pose to the noble regime due to the absence of the lord from his domains and the tremendous uncertainty and instability generated by the great distances crusaders needed to travel. These were challenges that had to be confronted by women of the family, and dynastic histories reveal the wisdom that was passed along to them from their mothers and grandmothers about how to survive such awful circumstances as the death or (much worse) disappearance of a husband on crusade.[43]

Perhaps the most telling element of the crusading stories that can be found in dynastic narratives is the way that these stories are often in dialogue with larger narratives of crusading history already in circulation. Both the writers of dynastic history and the *relatores* that they imagine declaiming their stories before the lords invoke the names of the crusade chroniclers such as Robert the Monk, Baldric of Bourgueil and the "singer of the the Song of Antioch" either as further proof of an ancestor's heroism or (in the absence of such proof) as evidence that stories told outside the community are false. While these are primarily textual responses – authors positioning their works with reference to other, widely circulated written works – they are a clear analogue to the way that the memory of the Crusades was contested and negotiated between families and communities. When we read, in Lambert of Ardres, that the lords of Ardres angrily rejected the singer of the *Chanson d'Antioche* for not including the name of their ancestor in his work, we may imagine precisely the historical dissonance that would have existed in the early thirteenth century between the Guines-Ardres family and the family of the counts of St. Pol who, it has recently been argued, may have commissioned an early version of the *Antioche*.[44] The version of the crusade chronicle of Baudri of Bourgueil known as variant *G* similarly seems to reflect an attempt to write a history of the First Crusade consonant with the memories of communities from the Angevin Touraine and against their enemies in Blois.[45] Here it is a redactor of the Latin manuscripts, rather than the storyteller, who is on the attack on the family's behalf.

Conclusions

The evidence collected above is intended to illustrate some of the mechanics of family memory as it related to the transmission of ideas about the crusading past. For the majority of medieval aristocratic families, very little evidence exists that allows us to access either the matter of what was remembered or the precise pathways along which that memory moved. Hence it is necessary to extrapolate, from

the sources we do possess, the basic mechanisms through which ideas about and attitudes toward the crusading past were transmitted. The Brienne family, for example, are a more typical case. No memorial survives, either in the form of a dynastic historical narrative, a kinship tomb or necropolis, or a family archive or cartulary that claims to speak on behalf of the family or bears witness to the self-conscious crusading tradition of the Brienne lineage. That the family was deeply committed to crusading, generation after generation, is unequivocal. That commitment, the very action of repeatedly taking the cross and undertaking hardships and travel to distant lands is a clear statement of culture and identity itself – a ritual act enforcing a cultural memory. A discourse *about* the Briennes and their crusading past, at the communicative level of reported speech and imaginative responses, also survives in the writing of contemporaries such as John of Joinville, who saw the Briennes as his kin, and the monastic chronicler Alberic of Trois Fontaines from the Briennes' home region of Champagne.

It was ultimately this living discourse about the Briennes that led the monks of the abbey of Foucarmont in Normandy to decorate the walls of the abbot's chapel with a series of genealogical portraits, which do not survive but which are described in a dynastic narrative written at the abbey in the late fourteenth century.[46] At the top was John of Brienne, depicted saying the words "I am the king of Jerusalem, and I begat the following offspring" (*Rex ego Jerusalem, sobolem genuique sequentem*). Below the image of the king are portraits of his son Alphonse and Alphonse's wife Marie of Issoudun, whose family, the counts of Eu, were the patrons of Foucarmont. The painting series continued with their children, one of whom (John I, count of Eu) identifies himself as "the grandson of the king." Now Norman counts, the family continued the emphasize their connections to the crusader king. Through kinship networks, the memory of one family's crusading past came to stretch across disparate regions of Europe, to be placed at the center of new cultural monuments and, potentially, new crusading traditions. Through these commemorative mechanisms, the families helped to construct the movement that we call the Crusades and were, like the families of their adversaries and the countless families caught in between, constructed by them.

Notes

1 Pierre Nora, *Rethinking France: Les lieux de mémoire*, tr. Mary Trouille, under the direction of David P. Jordan and Pierre Nora (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), xx.
2 What follows is taken from the analysis of Halbwachs' views of family memory by Astrid Erll, "Locating Family in Cultural Memory Studies," *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 42 (2011): 303–18.
3 Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, tr. Lewis A Coser (Chicago, 1992), cited in Erll, "Locating Family," 305.
4 Erll, "Locating Family," 306–8.
5 For some classic functionalist approaches see the essays in Jack Goody, ed., *The Character of Kinship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973). For the centrality of family to the memories of peasant societies in Europe see Chris Wickham and James Fentress, *Social Memory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 100, 112.

6 For Usamah ibn Munqidh see *The Book of Contemplation: Islam and the Crusades*, tr. Paul M. Cobb (London: Penguin, 2008); for Ephraim of Bonn's account of the massacres of 1146 see Chaviva Levin, "Constructing Memories of Martyrdom: Contrasting Portrayals of Martyrdom in the Hebrew Narratives of the First and Second Crusade," in *Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image, and Identity*, ed. Nicholas Paul and Suzanne Yaeger (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 50–68; for the villagers before the inquisition see Megan Cassidy-Welch, "Refugees: Views from Thirteenth-Century France," in *Why the Middle Ages Matter: Medieval Light on Modern Injustice*, ed. Celia Chazelle, Simon Doubleday, Felice Lifshitz, and Amy G. Remensnyder (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), 141–53.

7 David Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility: Constructing Aristocracy in England and France* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 87–170.

8 Émile Durkheim, "La famille conjugale," *Revue philosophique de la France et de l'étranger* 91 (1921): 1–14; Marcel Mauss, "Essai sur le don. Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques," *L'Année Sociologique* (1925), tr. by Ian Cunnison as *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies* (London: Cohen & West, 1954); David Herlihy, *Medieval Households* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985).

9 Dominique Barthélemy, *La société dans le comté de Vendôme de l'an mil au XIV siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1993) and (by the same author) *La mutation de l'an mil a-t-elle eu lieu? Servage et chevalerie dans la France des Xe et XIe siècles* (Paris: Fayard, 1997).

10 For horizontal family structures not replaced by linear structures see David Crouch, *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain, 1000–1300* (London: Routledge, 1992), 10–11.

11 Theodore Evergates, *Aristocracy in the County of Champagne, 1100–1300* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 83; see also Bouchard, *Those of my Blood: Constructing Noble Families in Medieval Francia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 164. Research by James Holt and Simon Barton have demonstrated that the same could be said for eleventh- and twelfth-century England, Castile, and Léon. J.C. Holt, "Politics and Property in Early Medieval England," *Past and Present* 57 (1972): 3–52; Simon Barton, *The Aristocracy in Twelfth-Century Léon and Castile* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 38–46. In England at least, even afterwards primogeniture *strictu sensu* may have remained more a legal ideal than practical reality. See Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility*, esp. 120–1.

12 Stephen D. White, *Custom, Kinship, and Gifts to Saints: The* Laudatio Parentum *in Western France, 1050–1150* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988); Bouchard, *Those of My Blood*.

13 On the popularity of prosopography as an approach to identify common features in social groups see George Beech, "Prosopography," in *Medieval Studies: An Introduction*, ed. James M. Powell (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1992), 185–226.

14 Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders: 1095–1131* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 169–95.

15 Emma Mason, "Fact and Fiction in the English Crusading Tradition: The Earls of Warwick in the Twelfth Century," *Journal of Medieval History* 14 (1988): 81–95; Friedrich Lundgreen, "Die Beteiligung des Hauses Schwarzburg an den Kreuzzügen," in *Gymnasium Fridericianum: Festschrift zur Feier seines 250jährigen Bestehens am 2. April 1914* (Rudolstadt, 1914), 103–51. See, e.g., Jonathan Phillips, "The Murder of Charles the Good and the Second Crusade: Household, Nobility, and Traditions of Crusading in Medieval Flanders," *Medieval Prosopography* 19 (1998): 55–75; Alexander Berner, *Kreuzzug und regionale Herrschaft. Die älteren Grafen von Berg 1147–1225* (Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2014); Jochen Schenk, *Templar Families: Landowning Families and the Order of the Temple, c. 1120–1307* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

16 The authors are much obliged to Dr Karol Polejowski for his insights into Brienne family history.

17 Marie Henri d'Arbois de Jubainville, "Catalogue d'actes des comtes de Brienne, 950–1356," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 33 (1872): 141–86, at 145 (no. 20) and 149 (no. 36).

18 Marie Henri d'Arbois de Jubainville, "Les premiers seigneurs de Ramerupt," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 22 (1861): 440–58, at 456–7 (no. 3).

19 On John of Brienne see Guy Perry, *John of Brienne: King of Jerusalem, Emperor of Constantinople, c. 1175–1237* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
20 Jubainville, "Les premiers seigneurs de Ramerupt," 450.
21 Karol Polejowski, "The Counts of Brienne and the Military Orders in the Thirteenth Century," in *The Military Orders, Volume 5: Politics and Power*, ed. Peter W. Edbury (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 285–95.
22 John of Joinville and Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *Chronicles of the Crusades*, tr. Caroline Smith (New York and London: Penguin Classics, 2008), 346–7. For discussion see Nicholas Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle* Ages (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), 121–3.
23 Schenk, *Templar Families*, 141–2.
24 Schenk, *Templar Families*, 238–49. For Raynald's donation at Acre see *Cartulaire général de l'Yonne*, ed. Maximilien Quantin, 2 vols. (Auxerre, 1854–1860), ii, no. 405 (pp. 411–12).
25 For Eugenius III's strategy, see Jonathan Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 37–60; for the papal letters more generally see William Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c.1095–c.1187* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2008), 90–4, 112–19, 162–13, 181. For the discourse of ancestry and responsibility among the nobility see Paul, *To Follow*, 21–54.
26 Jean Dunbabin, "Discovering a Past for the French Aristocracy," in *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Paul Magdalino (London and Rio Grande: Hambledon Press, 1992), 1–14.
27 Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility*, 156–70.
28 Matilda Tomaryn Bruckner, "Remembering the Trojan War: Violence Past, Present, and Future in Benoît de Sainte-Maure's Roman de Troie," *Speculum* 90:2 (2015): 366–90, at 367.
29 Guy Perry, *John of Brienne: King of Jerusalem, Emperor of Constantinople, 1175–1237* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 24.
30 Jan Assman, "Kollektives Gedächtnis und kulturelle Identität," in *Kultur und Gedächtnis*, ed. Jan Assman and Antonio Hölscher (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1988), 9–19; tr. as "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," in *New German Critique* 65 (1995): 125–33; "Communicative and Cultural Memory," in *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (New York, 2008), 109–18. The applicability of Assman's model of cultural memory to dynastic historical narratives has recently been proposed by Benjamin Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's* Historia Normannorum: *Tradition, Innovation, and Memory* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2015), 9–17.
31 Nicholas L. Paul, "The Fruits of Penitence and The Laurel of the Cross: The Poetics of Crusade and Conquest in the Memorials of Santa Maria de Ripoll," in *A Storm Against the Infidel: Crusading in the Iberian Peninsula and the Baltic Region*, ed. Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt and Torben K. Nielsen (Turnout: Brepols, forthcoming 2016).
32 Caroline Smith, *Crusading in the Age of Joinville* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 130–1.
33 Paul, "The Fruits of Penitence."
34 See for example *Le premier cartulaire de l'abbaye cistercienne de Pontigny (X11e–XIIIe siècles)*, ed. Martine Garrigues (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1981), 344, no. 342; *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des hispitaliers de St-Jean de Jérusalem (1100–1310)*, ed. Joseph Delaville Le Roulx, 4 vols. (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1894–1906), ii: 308–9, no. 1760.
35 Paris, Archives nationales, S 5241, dossier 66, no. 4. See also Schenk, *Templar Families*, 231–2.
36 Paul, *To Follow*, 90–5.
37 Paul, *To Follow*, 125–8. For further discussion of the political significance of crusading memory and memorabilia in Anjou see Kathryn Dutton, "Crusading and Political Culture Under Geoffrey, Count of Anjou and Duke of Normandy, 1129–51," *French History* 29:4 (2015): 419–44.
38 Schenk, *Templar Families*, 205–8, and Jochen Schenk, "The Cult of the Cross in the Order of the Temple," in *As ordens militares: Freires, guerreiros, cavaleiros*, ed. Isabel Cristina Ferreira Fernandes, 2 vols. (Palmela: GEsOS / Município de Palmela), i: 207–19.

39 An edition of the texts chronicling the dispute is currently in preparation. See Paul, *To Follow*, 114–15.
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41 Lambert of Ardres, *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres*, tr. Leah Shopkow (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 129–31.
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43 Paul, *To Follow*, 134–70.
44 *The* Chanson d'Antioche: *an Old French Account of the First Crusade*, tr. Susan Edgington and Carol Sweetenham (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 20–4.
45 Nicholas L. Paul, "Crusade, Memory, and Regional Politics in Twelfth-Century Amboise," *Journal of Medieval History* 31:2 (2005): 127–41.
46 "Chronique des comtes d'Eu," ed. Martin Bouquet in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France* 23 (Paris: H. Welter, 1894), 446.

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PART IV
Cultural memory

12

"A BLOW SENT BY GOD"

Changing Byzantine memories of the Crusades

Jonathan Harris

The end of Christian rule in the Holy Land did not go unnoticed in Constantinople, which from 1261 was the capital of a restored Byzantine empire. In the early fourteenth century, George Pachymeres, a deacon and teacher at the patriarchal academy, noted the fall of Tripoli to the Mamluks in 1289, then that of Acre in 1291. His account is not as informative as it might be. Writing in deliberately archaic Greek, he referred to Acre by its classical name of Ptolemaïs and called the Mamluk ruler 'the sultan of Babylon'. He imparted few details apart from the massacre of the adult population and the destruction of the towns. Much more space was devoted to the omens observed in the Byzantine capital that had foretold the final disaster of 1291, such as weeping statues and bleeding icons. Like most Byzantines, Pachymeres was more interested in events at home than the fate of the 'Latins' in the Holy Land.[1]

As a result of this Constantinople-centred view of the world, in the two centuries that followed, those Byzantines who were curious about the enterprise that had brought western European crusaders to Jerusalem in the first place and the history of their presence there would not have found it easy to unearth information. They would not have had access to Latin accounts like that of William of Tyre, while some Byzantine accounts, such as that of John Kinnamos who described the passage of the Second Crusade, were not widely available.[2] They would, however, have been able to consult the works of Anna Komnene (1083–c.1148) and Niketas Choniates (1155–1217) whose works circulated relatively widely in Byzantium in the later Middle Ages to judge by the number of surviving manuscripts.[3] The author of a chronicle which was compiled in the early fourteenth century and which has been attributed to Theodore Skoutariotes, certainly makes extensive use of Choniates as a source for events of the twelfth and early thirteenth century. Interestingly though, he does not seem to have used Anna Komnene as the basis

for his account of the genesis of the First Crusade, an issue on which, in any case, she is not very informative. The chronicle claims that in order to attract western European allies and mercenaries to help him reconquer Asia Minor from the Turks, Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118) had deliberately enticed them eastwards by playing on their well-known reverence for Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre.[4] Current opinion is divided on how seriously this passage from a very late source should be taken as regards the origins of the First Crusade.[5] At the end of the day though, later generations of Byzantines read Komnene and Choniates as exemplars of classical style or as sources for their own history and were not much interested in looking back at Crusades to the Holy Land and on what had happened there when it was ruled by the Latins.

On the other hand there was one crusade on which the Byzantines looked back very frequently. The Fourth Crusade, the diversion of which to Constantinople had resulted in the sack of the city in 1204, had become a defining moment in the Byzantine view of the past and for later observers the perception of that past was largely shaped by the accounts written at Nicaea early in the thirteenth century. Following the capture of Constantinople and the establishment of the Latin empire, Theodore Laskaris, a son-in-law of the Byzantine emperor Alexios III Angelos (1195–1203), had fled to Nicaea and set up court in exile, having himself been crowned emperor in 1208. The town became a centre for resistance to Latin rule and a magnet for prominent refugees from Constantinople. Among them were the archbishop of Cyzicus, Constantine Stilbes, the archbishop of Ephesus, Nicholas Mesarites, and the former high official at the Byzantine court, Niketas Choniates. All three wrote accounts of what happened when the Latins took Constantinople in 1204, albeit in very different kinds of work: Stilbes in a list of the errors of the Latins, Mesarites in a funeral eulogy of his brother John and Choniates in a formal history of his times.[6] These 'Nicaean' accounts, and especially that of Choniates, articulated the four elements that were to recur again and again in Byzantine memories of the Fourth Crusade: the looting of churches and the damage done to sacred objects and works of art was perhaps the most prominent and often repeated. In the second place, this version laid stress on the fact that the perpetrators of these outrages were supposedly Christians and their conduct by implication highlighted the errors of the Catholic Church which was by then in schism with the Byzantine Church. A third element was the role of Venice which was singled out for blame more than any other group. Finally, and perhaps surprisingly, some blame was attached the Byzantines themselves who to some extent allowed the catastrophe to happen and perhaps even provoked it.

The influence of the Nicaean version, direct or indirect, can be discerned very clearly in Byzantine vernacular and oral memories. Choniates' *History* was particularly well placed to have that impact because during the fourteenth century a 'translation' was produced that simplified his archaic and wordy Greek into something closer to the everyday language used by the inhabitants of Constantinople.[7] Thus the compiler of a late Byzantine chronicle specifically adduced Choniates'

authority for his details about the 1204 sack and the author of a 759-line poem, written in vernacular Greek in 1392, advised his readers:

> To learn of all the evil deeds done by the western Latins,
> Like beasts, in utter wickedness, at that time in the city
> Peruse the book most carefully of Niketas Choniates.[8]

The first element of the Nicaean version of Choniates and others, the looting of churches and sacred objects, was undoubtedly the one that featured most prominently in later Byzantine memories of the event. Both Choniates and Stilbes had graphically described the crusaders leading donkeys into the cathedral of Hagia Sophia to carry away their loot and allowing a woman to prance around on the *synthronon*, the sacred area behind the iconostasis or screen that divided the altar from the main body of the church. Stilbes had added other details, such as the desecration of the iconostasis of the St Sampson Hospital while Mesarites had lamented that the looters had 'cast down to the floor the holy images'.[9] Such actions on the part of Christian soldiers in Constantinople were not entirely unprecedented: the Byzantine and Latin soldiers of Alexios I had done much the same when he took the Byzantine capital in 1081.[10] It seems to have been the sheer scale of the looting and desecration of 1204 that burned itself into the popular consciousness. The Greek poem of 1392 faithfully reproduced Choniates' account of the looting and desecration of Hagia Sophia and a late Byzantine chronicle recorded that the holy icons had been trampled underfoot.[11] There was also a surprisingly detailed set of oral memories of which buildings had been looted in 1204 and which valuable artefacts had been lost. Just how strong these memories were can be gauged from the reaction of the cleric Sylvester Syropoulos when he arrived in Venice with the Byzantine delegation to the council of Ferrara in February 1438. Accompanying the Patriarch Joseph on a visit to the treasury of St Mark's, he saw numerous icons in jewelled frames and the sumptuous altarpiece known as the Pala d'Oro, with its decoration of enamelled figures of the saints. Syropoulos was painfully aware that much of this treasure formed part of the Venetian share of the loot in 1204. He was even able to deduce from an examination of six enamel plaques on the altarpiece that they must have come from the Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople for they bore inscriptions connecting them with the Komnenos dynasty, the monastery having been built by John II Komnenos (1118–1143) in 1136.[12]

Guides were fond of telling visitors to Constantinople about these losses. The damage done to the decoration on a column near the imperial palace was pointed out to a fourteenth-century Russian pilgrim, the Latins allegedly having broken off the horns of its stone carved rams. In Hagia Sophia, the same pilgrim was shown an icon of the Mother of God which had escaped because tears had allegedly flowed from it when the crusaders came to seize it. Stunned by the sight, the would-be looters had reverently gathered up the tears and sealed them in a golden chest.[13] It may have been from such oral testimony gleaned by pilgrims that the synod scroll

of the Novgorod chronicle from the first half of the thirteenth century drew up its detailed list of which objects were removed from which church during the 1204 sack.[14]

Similar stories were told to western visitors. When the Spanish envoy Clavijo visited the monastery of the Perivleptos in the autumn of 1403, the great jasper sarcophagus of Emperor Romanos III Argyros (1028–1034) could still be seen in the church there. As his guides pointed out, however, the gold and precious stones with which it had originally been overlaid had been stripped away in 1204.[15] An Andalusian soldier called Pero Tafur, who was in Constantinople in 1437–1438, was well aware of the 'relics, jaspers, marbles and other things' that had been stolen at that time.[16] During his visit in 1432–1433, the Burgundian Bertrandon de la Brocquière (d. 1459) was told how the crusaders had tried to loot the tomb of Constantine the Great (306–337), although the French traveller mistakenly located the occurrence in the monastery of the Pantokrator rather than in the church of the Holy Apostles. The lid of the sarcophagus was so heavy that the looters could not lift it so they gave up and went off in search of easier pickings, carrying off the body of Constantine's mother Helena instead. Apparently though, the damage done by the looters' crowbars was still clearly visible.[17] The most frequently mentioned piece of plunder, in western accounts at least, was not a sacred relic or ecclesiastical object but the four gilded bronze horses that had once stood in the Hippodrome. They had been a prominent landmark, Choniates describing them as having 'necks somewhat curved as if they eyed each other as they raced around the last lap'.[18] In the aftermath of 1204, however, they were taken down from their plinth and shipped off to Venice as trophies. Bertrandon de la Brocquière, Pero Tafur and the Florentine Cristoforo Buondelmonti (c. 1375–1435), who visited in around 1415, all make mention of the empty space where the horses had once been. These writers may well, of course, have seen the horses for themselves in Venice but in all probability it was their Byzantine guides who pointed out where they had formerly stood.[19]

The fact that the crusaders of 1204 were schismatic Christians who followed erroneous doctrine also remained an element in Byzantine oral memory: Choniates had compared them unfavourably with Muslims.[20] In particular the Byzantine authors alleged that the Latin clergy had played a leading part in encouraging the diversion to Constantinople and the sack of the city. Stilbes had claimed that the final attack had been led by a bishop who was equipped like a solder and brandished a cross as if it were a standard. Mesarites had angrily concluded that the crusaders had been taught to act in a violent and rapacious fashion by their own clergy.[21] Again, the Nicaean version here contained a certain amount of exaggeration. The diversion of the Fourth Crusade to Constantinople had been specifically prohibited by Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) but he had been ignored by the leadership.[22] On the other hand, western accounts make it clear that Latin clergy did assure the crusaders that it would not be sinful to attack the Byzantines in April 1204 because, although they were Christians, they were in schism with the Church of Rome.[23] Thus there was some weight behind the perception that the events of 1204 were driven by religious considerations and that explains the hostility reported by

western visitors to Constantinople in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the entrenched popular opposition to any attempt to reunite the Byzantine and Catholic churches. 'It seems to me', wrote Bertrandon de la Brocquière with considerable understatement, 'that they don't like Christians who are loyal to the Church of Rome'.[24] The Greek chronicler Doukas describes how crowds would gather in taverns to drink anathema to union with the Latins.[25] Theological differences alone were not enough to explain such bitterness. As a Greek bishop advised the pope, what really kept the churches divided was not so much dogma but the anger felt by the Byzantines 'as a consequence of the great many evils which they have suffered from the Latins', a clear reference to the events of 1204.[26]

Then there was the third persistent element, the particular culpability of the Venetians. Choniates was convinced that the Venetian doge, Enrico Dandolo, had deliberately plotted the enterprise, a notion that although difficult to reconcile with the other primary evidence, has remained a feature of the debate on the Fourth Crusade ever since.[27] There was certainly a tendency for the Venetians to be singled out amongst the amorphous mass of Latins in later accounts. The late fifteenth-century Greek writer Laonikos Chalkokondyles noted that when the Venetians attacked Constantinople in 1204 'many westerners were with them but they [i.e. the Venetians] were the leaders of the campaign against the Greeks'. A chronicle preserved in a seventeenth-century Greek manuscript claims that the renegade Byzantine prince, Alexios Angelos, escaped to Venice to seek help against his uncle Alexios III and that it was this appeal that brought the crusade fleet to Constantinople.[28] In reality, of course, Alexios had made his appeal to the German imperial claimant Philip of Swabia and never set foot in Venice but Chalkokondyles and the author of the chronicle may well have been reflecting a vivid oral memory of Venetian involvement. Emperor John VIII Palaiologos (1425–1448) said much the same thing to Pero Tafur when the Spanish traveller sought an audience with him in November 1437:

> Some hundred or hundred and fifty years ago, or more, the Venetians prepared a great fleet, saying that it was for the assistance of the emperor against the Turks, and they came with the fleet to Constantinople, and were well received by the emperor and all the Greeks and they lodged everywhere in the city. But it appears that they had already plotted what they put into practice for they rose with the citizens against the emperor and fought with him, and since he was wholly unprepared for such treason, they succeeded in driving him out of the city.[29]

John VIII was clearly not particularly well informed about this aspect of his empire's history for he went on to say that the emperor fled to the Morea and that his son married a daughter of the king of Hungary: possibly a confused memory of the marriage of Isaac II Angelos (1185–1195) to Margaret, daughter of Béla III of Hungary, in 1185. It was their son, John claimed, who ousted the Venetians from Constantinople and restored Byzantine rule whereas it was, of course, the founder of

a completely new dynasty, Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–1282), who achieved that feat and from Nicaea rather than from the Morea. It is impossible to tell precisely from where John derived this eccentric version of events but some of it may have ultimately have come from Choniates' insistence that there was a pre-existing Venetian plot to capture Constantinople. John VIII's version of events does not seem to have had wide currency though. The vernacular Greek poem of 1392 was certainly a lot better informed than the emperor on the way in which Constantinople was ultimately recaptured.[30]

The fourth element in the Nicaean version of the Fourth Crusade was the blame placed on the shoulders of the Byzantines themselves. Niketas Choniates poured scorn on the emperors of the Angelos family who were ruling Byzantium in the years before the catastrophe, proclaiming that 'the supine and stay-at-home ministers of the Roman empire ushered in the pirates as judges to condemn and punish us'. Another Nicaean courtier, Nikephoros Blemmydes (1197–1272), blamed 'the culpable conduct of those who were then on the throne'.[31] Moreover there had been times, Choniates suggested, when the Byzantines had been guilty of duplicity and treachery towards Latins travelling to the Holy Land on crusade. The deliberate obstruction of the passage of the army of the Third Crusade as it passed through the Balkans in 1189 was a grave mistake that merely provoked the hostility of its leader, Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa (1152–1190). The implication is that such ill-judged actions to some extent precipitated the disaster of 1204.[32]

Perhaps inevitably this element became weaker with the passage of time but it was still there in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when a short chronicle and the 1392 poem both reproduced Choniates' and Blemmydes' distain for Alexios III.[33] A faint echo could also be heard of Choniates' conviction that the Byzantines had sometimes mistreated passing crusaders. When the Florentine Cristoforo Buondelmonti was in Constantinople, he either saw or was told about piles of human bones that lay scattered around the harbour of Vlanga on the southern, Marmara shore. These were allegedly the remains of 50,000 Franks who had perished when the Byzantines poisoned them with bread adulterated with lime.[34] A different version of the story is given by Bertrandon de la Brocquière. He says that a group of Franks was returning from Jerusalem after the successful conclusion of the First Crusade and they were being ferried in small groups across the Bosporus. The Byzantines were murdering each group as soon as they landed at the small harbour. Luckily a page managed to escape and crossed back to warn the others. They headed north across the Black Sea where their descendants still lived.[35] Buondelmonti's version of the tale might have been a garbled version of the accusation, made in later western accounts of the Second Crusade that the Byzantines had adulterated the flour that they sold to the crusaders with lime, albeit without Buondelmonti's high casualty rate.[36] Bertrandon's version likewise might reflect the contemporary charge that the Byzantines had attempted to drown the soldiers of the third wave of the First Crusade as they crossed the Bosporus in 1101.[37]

This was not, however, a story that belonged solely to western memories of the Crusades. Intriguingly the story of the adulteration of the flour was also told by

Niketas Choniates although he added that he did not know whether or not the deed was carried out on the orders of the reigning Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143–1180).[38] He does not mention the Vlanga area as being the place where the victims died but rather implies that it happened once the French and German crusaders had crossed the Bosporus into Asia Minor in the autumn of 1147. Nevertheless, the fact that the atrocity was associated by Buondelmonti and Bertrandon with a particular area of Constantinople might suggest that this was a memory shared by the Byzantines and that it was their guides who had pointed the place out to them. It would seem though that there were other explanations for the bones in circulation quite apart from those of Buondelmonti and Bertrandon. The fourteenth-century Russian pilgrim Stephen of Novgorod claimed that they were those of infidel Persians killed in the abortive siege of 626, reflecting no doubt a version that was more palatable to his Byzantine hosts. It would have gone too much against the grain to admit that the Latins could be victims too.[39]

There can be no doubt then that the Nicaean version was an extremely strong influence on the way later generations of Byzantines looked back on the Fourth Crusade. It was, however, by no means universal. It was probably restricted to Constantinople and those dwindling territories still under the rule of the Byzantine emperor. In those areas that had formerly been under Byzantine control but were now ruled by Venice or other Latin powers, the perspective was rather different. Greek ballads composed in those parts extolled the noble deeds of the Latin emperor of Constantinople, Henry of Flanders, and other Franks, and even described the soldiers of the Fourth Crusade as 'our people'.[40] Moreover, while there was undoubtedly a strong popular memory of the Fourth Crusade in Constantinople based on the Nicaean version of events, that memory seems to have had a limited impact on the literary record in formal Greek. Even though numerous theological denunciations of the Latins were penned by learned clerics and laymen throughout the later Byzantine period, very few make any reference to 1204. A rare exception is the discourse written by Theodore Agallianos, future bishop of Medeia, in 1442 in the wake of the Union of the Churches declared at Florence in 1439.[41] There are later narratives of the Fourth Crusade and the sack of Constantinople in the works of the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century historians Nikephoros Gregoras and Michael Kritovoulos but they are very brief.[42] George Akropolites, who was writing at the court of Michael VIII Palaiologos, gives a reasonably detailed and generally accurate account but, while he no doubt derived his basic information from Choniates, he completely lacks the earlier author's outrage and fury. Akropolites describes the sack as "a blow sent by God" yet he does not mention the desecration of churches that was such a prominent feature of the oral tradition and he does not dwell on the other atrocities, pointing out that these always accompanied the capture of any city.[43]

The absence of references to 1204 in anti-Latin polemical literature is something of a mystery but the reticence of Akropolites is easily explained. As a prominent adviser to Michael VIII, he had political reasons for playing down the resentment towards the west. He had headed the three-man delegation that attended the council of Lyon in

July 1274 to agree the end of the schism between the churches on papal terms. The concession was necessary to fend off western attempts to recover Constantinople, led by the king of Naples, Charles of Anjou (1266–1285).[44] The initiative ultimately failed: the Union of Lyon encountered such vociferous opposition in Constantinople that it was abandoned by the next emperor, Andronicus II Palaiologos (1282–1328), in 1282. Nevertheless, as one of the architects of the policy of reconciliation with the papacy, Akropolites could hardly dwell on the wrongs of the past.

Such considerations were widespread among the Byzantine ruling elite as the empire's fortunes declined in the second half of the fourteenth century. Lingering resentment for past wrongs was a luxury that could no longer be afforded and a discernible group emerged at court that urged reconciliation with the Latins with a view to securing them as allies against the growing might of the Ottoman Turks. Members of this group obviously had a more forgiving view of the papacy and some of them even converted from Orthodoxy to Catholicism.[45] They were also much more favourable to the Venetians, not least because by 1400 many prominent Byzantines were dependent on the Venetian commercial networks for their source of income and some had even taken out Venetian citizenship.[46] In this climate it is possible to discern a very different memory of 1204 emerging in the very last days of the empire's existence. In January 1453, when it was clear that the Ottoman sultan was planning to launch an attack on Constantinople, the Venetian baillie, Girolamo Minotto, and the captains of the Venetian galleys that were anchored in the Golden Horn, sought a meeting with the emperor, Constantine XI Palaiologos (1449–1453), to request that although they intended to stay and defend the city they should be allowed to keep their merchandise loaded on their ships. Minotto added: 'We can well do it freely, by the authority which we had from your empire when we possessed Constantinople for a period of sixty years and then gave it back to you.'[47]

Given the circumstances, it is hardly surprising that Constantine did not indignantly refute this breath-taking distortion of the past for Venetian help was just too valuable to put at risk. Yet if contemporary accounts are to be believed, Constantine seems to have gone further and taken this Venetian construction of the Fourth Crusade and its aftermath on board. On the day before Constantinople fell to the Ottomans, 28 May 1453, the emperor is alleged to have made a rousing speech to the defenders, who included a sizeable Venetian contingent. According to an eyewitness, Leonard of Chios, he had addressed part of the speech to them in particular, recalling how over the years the Venetians had 'adorned this city as if it were your own with fine and noble men'.[48] The Venetian Niccolò Barbaro even went so far as to claim that Constantine had declared that his capital city 'had come to belong more to the Venetians than to the Greeks' and that he had handed over to them the keys to four important gates in the Land Walls.[49]

In neither of these instances was the Fourth Crusade specifically mentioned but that last step of rehabilitation was taken after the city had fallen to the Ottomans. Bessarion (1402–1472), former Byzantine archbishop of Nicaea and now a Cardinal of the Roman Church, can hardly have been ignorant of the Nicaean version of the sack of Constantinople for he possessed a copy of Choniates' *History*.[50] Nevertheless,

when news arrived of the fall of Constantinople in the summer of 1453 that version of events must have seemed utterly outmoded in the light of the new threat that was looming over all Christians, Catholic and Orthodox alike. That July, Bessarion wrote to the doge of Venice, Francesco Foscari (1423–1457), to ask him to use his influence to encourage other Christian powers to participate in the proposed crusade to retake Constantinople from the Ottomans. Incredibly, the cardinal urged the doge to 'Exhort them . . . to recovering that city which formerly belonged to your republic and which would be yours again once victory had been achieved'.[51] Choniates' Venetian aggressor had become a potential saviour. The republic's past sins were forgotten and Constantinople under its rule seemed a desirable alternative to that of the Ottoman sultan. Bessarion's extreme revisionism was not, of course, typical for it belonged to the group that had thrown its lot in with the Latins. Yet even Michael Kritovoulos, a Byzantine who had chosen to enter the service of the Ottoman sultan after the fall of Constantinople, had allowed his memories to mellow somewhat, recording that although the sack of 1204 had entailed systematic pillage there had not been a wholesale enslavement of the population as there was in 1453.[52]

The fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans seems to have had the effect of erasing other memories of the Fourth Crusade beside the guilt of the Venetians. In sharp contrast to the experience of visitors to Constantinople in late Byzantine times who had the losses and damage of 1204 constantly pointed out to them, George Sandys, who passed through in 1610, complained that 'not a Greeke can satisfie the Inquirer in the historie of their owne calamities'.[53] The culpability of the Angelos emperors likewise seems to have faded with the passage of time. On the other hand, another aspect of the Nicaean version of the Fourth Crusade continued to be cherished by the descendants of the Byzantines under Ottoman rule. This persistent element was the link between the events of 1204 and the schism between the Catholic and Orthodox churches and it was still entrenched after the creation of the kingdom of Greece in 1830. In his *History of the Greek Nation*, published in 1878, the Greek historian Constantine Paparrigopoulos (1815–1891) specifically made that link, claiming that through the diversion of the Fourth Crusade 'the west fulfilled its centuries-old dream of conquering Constantinople and subjecting the Christians of the East to the Church of Rome'.[54] It still persists today. The demonstrators who turned out to protest at the visit of Pope John-Paul II to Athens in May 2001 made that link too and were unappeased by the pontiff's expression of regret that Latin Christians had 'turned against their own brothers in the faith'.[55] Thus a Byzantine memory of the Crusades has lived on, even though the empire itself has completely disappeared.

Notes

1 George Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*, ed. Albert Failler and V. Laurent, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 24, 5 vols (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1984–2000), 3: 98–9.

2 John Kinnamos, *Rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio (sic) Comnenis Gestarum*, ed. A. Meinecke, Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn: Weber, 1836), 57–87. English translation by Charles M. Brand, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 58–71.

3 Anna Komnene, *Alexias*, ed. Diether R. Reinsch and Athanasios Kambylis, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 40, 2 vols (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2001), 1: 295–302; English translation by E.R.A. Sewter, *Anna Komnene: The Alexiad*, revised by Peter Frankopan (London: Penguin, 2009), 274–315; Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J.-L. van Dieten, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 11, 2 vols (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1975), 1: 60–71, 401–18, 538–94, 647–55; English translation by Harry J. Magoulias, *O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984), 35–42, 220–30, 295–326, 357–62.

4 *Synopsis Chronike*, in C.N. Sathas, *Mesaionike Bibliotheke*, 7 vols (Athens, Venice and Paris: Chronou, 1872–94), 7: 1–556, at 184–5; Peter Charanis, 'A Greek source on the origin of the First Crusade', *Speculum* 24 (1949): 93–4; Peter Charanis, 'Byzantium, the West and the origin of the First Crusade', *Byzantion* 19 (1949): 17–36, at 33–4, reprinted in Peter Charanis, *Social, Economic and Political Life in the Byzantine Empire* (London: Variorum, 1973), No. XIV. See also Konstantinos Zafeiris, 'The issue of the authorship of the *Synopsis Chronike* and Theodore Skoutariotes', *Revue des Études Byzantines* 69 (2011): 253–63.

5 Jonathan Shepard, 'Cross-purposes: Alexius Comnenus and the First Crusade', in *The First Crusade Origins and Impact*, ed. Jonathan Phillips (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 107–29, at note 69.

6 Choniates, *Historia*, 538–82, 647–55; trans. Magoulias, 295–320, 357–62; Jean Darrouzès, 'Le mémoire de Constantin Stilbès contre les Latins', *Revue des Études Byzantines* 21 (1963): 50–100, at 80–6; Nicholas Mesarites, 'Der Epitaphios des Nikolaos Mesarites auf seinem Bruder Johannes', in A. Heisenberg, *Quellen und Studien zur spätbyzantinischen Geschichte* (London: Variorum, 1973), 3–75, at 46–7. English translation in Charles M. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West, 1180–1204* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), 269.

7 John Davis, 'Anna Komnene and Niketas Choniates "translated": the fourteenth-century Byzantine metaphrases', in *History as Literature in Byzantium*, ed. Ruth J. Macrides (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2010), 55–70.

8 Corinna Matzukis, *Η άλωσις της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως: Τετάρτη σταυροφορία = The fall of Constantinople; Fourth Crusade: A Critical Edition with Translation, Grammatical and Historical Commentary of the codex 408 Marcianus Graecus (ff. 1-13v) in the Library of St. Mark, Venice* (Athens: Ekdosis Helleñ, 2004), 114–15. Cf. Peter Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 12, 2 vols (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1975–7), 1: 63, 3: 22.

9 Choniates, *Historia*, 573–4; trans. Magoulias, 315; Darrouzès, 'Mémoire', 81–2; Mesarites, 'Epitaphios', 46.

10 Komnene, *Alexias*, 1: 81; trans. Sewter and Frankopan, 74.

11 Matzukis, *Η άλωσις*, 114–17; Schreiner, *Byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, 1: 151, 3: 47.

12 Sylvester Syropoulos, *Mémoires*, ed. and trans. V. Laurent, Concilium Florentinum: Documenta et Scriptores 9 (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1971), 222–5. On the Pala d'Oro, see: Thomas Mathews, *Byzantium: From Antiquity to the Renaissance* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 62; Otto Demus, 'Zur Pala d'Oro', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 16 (1967): 263–79.

13 George P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1984), 142, 213.

14 Robert Michell and Nevill Forbes, *The Chronicle of Novgorod, 1016–1471* (London: Camden Society, 1914), 47; Jared Gordon, 'The Novgorod account of the Fourth Crusade', *Byzantion* 43 (1973): 297–311, at 309–10.

15 Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, *Embajada a Tamorlan*, ed. F. López Estrada (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1943), 38; English translation by Guy Le Strange, *Embassy to Tamerlane* (London: Routledge, 1928), 65.

16 Pero Tafur, *Andanças e viajes de Pero Tafur por diversas partes del mundo avidos (1435–1439)*, ed. M. Jiménez de la Espada (Madrid: Ginesta, 1874), 146–7; English translation by Malcom Letts, *Pero Tafur, Travels and Adventures 1435–1439* (London: Routledge, 1926), 122.

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13

REMEMBERING THE CRUSADES WHILE LIVING THE RECONQUEST

Iberia, twelfth to fourteenth centuries

Ana Rodríguez

To remember the Crusades in medieval Iberia necessarily involves holding up a mirror to the complex political and social process known as the Reconquest, framing relations between the Christian kingdoms of the north and the Muslims of Al-Andalus throughout the Middle Ages. The relationship between Crusades and Reconquest was never simple. From the late eleventh century onwards the growing pace of the Christian conquests in the south of the Peninsula received papal support in the form of indulgences and finance; although the priority, expressed unequivocally by the Roman popes in their abundant correspondence with the Hispanic kings on the subject, was always the recovery of the Holy Land and the Eastern Crusade.

Participation in the Crusades of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in that context and particularly in the kingdom of Castile as the main focus of this chapter, was not an experience shared equally between the Hispanic kings and the nobility. To remember the Crusades, and by doing so to include them in the political game-playing of the time, was an action fraught with intentions and consequences. In the fourteenth century, as the frontier with Al-Andalus moved further away and the summons to the Eastern Crusade dwindled, the significance of the Reconquest within the Crusades acquired fresh overtones. The presence of Christian victories in the royal discourse gained strength as a legitimizing source of power, while the evocation of the Crusade in surviving Castilian documentation and literature lost its warlike connotations and gained those of pilgrimage as a means of expiation of sins and of liminal experiences. In an exercise of hindsight, this chapter looks at the memory of the Crusades against the background of the experience of war in Al-Andalus, moving back from the literature of the mid-fourteenth century to the accounts of the famous battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212 to trace, through sporadic but significant examples, the complexity of remembering the Crusades while still involved in the Reconquest.

Remembering the Crusades

El Libro de los ejemplos del conde Lucanor y de Patronio was written between 1330 and 1335 by the Infante Don Juan Manuel, grandson of King Fernando III (1217–1252), the conqueror of Cordoba and Seville, nephew of Alfonso X "the Wise" (1252–1284), and himself a leading figure in the turbulent politics of the first half of the fourteenth century in Castile. *El Conde Lucanor*, a portrayal of the aristocratic mindset of the final centuries of the Middle Ages, is composed of five parts, the best known of which is a series of 51 *exempla* or moral tales of different origins.[1] Four of the tales that the servant Patronio uses to advise his master, Count Lucanor, are directly situated against the background of the Crusades and the Reconquest of the preceding centuries. The first of these tales refers to the Third Crusade and the participation of King Richard of England; the second recounts how the Count of Provence was freed from prison because of the advice Saladin gave him; the third tells how a Castilian noble, vassal of the king of Granada, regained the favour of King Fernando III; the fourth, finally, relates the circumstances of a Castilian noble's departure for the Holy Land.

This last story, number 44 of *El Conde Lucanor*, entitled "What happened to Don Pedro Ruy González de Ceballos and Don Gutierre Ruiz de Blanquillo with Count Rodrigo el Franco", begins with the Count's request for advice from his servant Patronio on how to act when some knights whom he had raised in his household and had favoured with his largesse had abandoned him while he was at war, with his possessions in great danger, and had sought to do him harm by allying themselves with his enemies. Then Patronio advises the count that he should never stop doing good although others may do him harm, for those who sought to do him ill did more harm to themselves; and he tells the story of two knights who accompanied their lord, Count Rodrigo, to the Holy Land at a time indicated by the context to be the twelfth century. This Count Rodrigo had unjustly offended his wife, for which God had punished him by making him fall ill with leprosy. His wife then left him and married the king of Navarre. The count, seeing his situation and knowing he could not be cured of leprosy, set off on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land to die there. The faithful knights accompanied him, cared for him and brought him back to Castile when he died, refusing to return home without their lord. Since they were unwilling to boil the body to separate the flesh from the bones and thus forestall its putrification during the long journey, they buried him and waited for the flesh to decay naturally; they then put the bones in a casket and set off for the lands of Castile. The king, having learnt of the return of the faithful knights with the remains of Count Rodrigo, went out to meet them; he ordered that the count should be buried in his own lands, and generously rewarded the knights.

The story of Count Lucanor is reminiscent of an episode of great political scope recorded in the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, written in the royal court of King Alfonso VII in the mid twelfth century. In a passage corresponding to the years prior to the imperial coronation of 1135, the chronicle tells how another Count Rodrigo – the historical Rodrigo González de Lara – had to return the tenancy

of the city of Toledo and other towns and castles to Alfonso VII as a consequence of the conflict between his family and the king.[2] Count Rodrigo then set off on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where he fought against the Muslims, built a castle called Toron opposite Ashkelon and presented it to the Templar Knights. When he returned to Castile, however, Rodrigo González de Lara was not received by the king or in his own family properties. The Count of Barcelona and the King of Pamplona accepted him into their territories, and from there he left for the court of Ibn Gani of Valencia, where a potion said to be administered by the Muslims made him fall ill with leprosy. When he realized that his body was affected by the disease, he decided to return to Jerusalem, where he died.

The fourteenth-century account written by the Infante Don Juan Manuel is obviously closely related to the tale told two centuries earlier in the chronicle of Alfonso VII recounting the exile of one of the great noblemen of the kingdom and his battles and conquests in the Holy Land. However, things had changed considerably in the 200 years that separate the texts. What in the twelfth century was probably a habitual act of leaving for the East in fulfilment of a Crusader's oath was, in the early decades of the fourteenth century, a pilgrimage charged with signs of expiation. Count Rodrigo González de Lara of the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* fought bravely in the Holy Land and upon his return, in the lands of Al-Andalus, contracted leprosy as the result of the evil arts of the Muslim enemy. The other Count Rodrigo of *El Conde Lucanor* went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land because he had caught leprosy as the result of divine punishment, and was going to redeem his sins. For the author of the chronicle of Alfonso VII leaving for the East was an act weighty with political connotations. The memory of the significance of the Crusade, however, had faded by the fourteenth century and was, under the pen of Don Juan Manuel, a space for liminal moralizing experiences rather than a place for true combat.

This shift can already be glimpsed at the beginning of the fourteenth century. In 1307, more than two decades before the composition of Don Juan Manuel's work, a lady of the local nobility, Doña Teresa Gil, made her will in the Castilian city of Valladolid. After stipulating that her body should be buried in the Dominican monastery of Zamora, making bequests of jewels, money and clothes to her family and servants and recognizing her debts to the Templars and other religious bodies, she gave a hundred *maravedís* to the Crusades – *et mando a la crusada çient maravedís* – the same amount she had left to the poor of the city of Zamora and to some of her servants.[3] It is difficult to interpret what *la crusada* might mean to a woman from a noble house of the north of the kingdom of Castile in the early fourteenth century, bearing in mind that the time of the great expeditions had ended with the death of Louis IX of France in Tunis. Nothing else was underway that was sufficiently promoted or publicized to be capable of mobilizing resources in Castilian cities like Valladolid, which for 200 years had been remote from the border with Al-Andalus. Was it a personal contribution to campaigns being prepared in the Holy Land? A redirection of funds from the Eastern Crusade to the fighting in Castile which would culminate in the Christian victory at the battle of the River Salado

in 1340? Or was it rather a vague memory, empty of content, of a reality lived in past centuries?

Although documents similar to Teresa Gil's will are not common, nor is this an isolated case. References to the financing of crusade, generically speaking, are also found throughout Castilian documentation of the latter decades of the thirteenth century; it is unclear whether this finance was destined for any specific previously agreed campaign, or if it had become a source of funding that was regularly sought, in most cases probably without success.[4] As in the early years of the fourteenth century, the Crusade was still being remembered by those who wrote their wills in the Hispanic kingdoms in previous decades. What exactly they may have meant by this, or what it implied, was varied: from the expiation of the sins, to a vague stereotype turned into a literary and ideological topos, all the connotations were forged over the course of a period where narratives of the Crusade and the Reconquest were combined, competed, complemented, and occasionally confused. The evocation of a mythic, distant and ethereal Crusade permeated the narrative of both chronicles and literary sources. At the same time, the Crusade occasionally appeared as a specific event with economic consequences and explicit policies, as revealed in certain documents.

Confronting the Crusade and the Reconquest

The gathering of funds for the organization of the expeditions to the Holy Land had continued during the second half of the thirteenth century, although the pace of the campaigns and of their successes was ever diminishing. References to the collection of the *fecho de cruzada* during the reign of Alfonso X show the problems posed by the collection of the *vigesima* and other taxes, in particular faced with the needs of the Military Orders to fight against the Muslims in Iberia.[5] The financing of the Crusade in Castile had met with enormous resistance from the nobility and from the dioceses throughout the kingdom. Likewise, relationships were never easy between the papal tax-collectors and those who were to provide material aid to the campaigns in the Holy Land. News of the refusal to hand over the contribution corresponding to the churches and the renegotiation of amounts and due dates is found in documentation from the twelfth century onwards.[6] In 1123 Pope Callixtus II had already recognized the special situation of the Hispanic kingdoms, conceding to those who fought there the same privileges as those fighting in defence of the East.[7] This declaration of intent had later been frequently renewed, from the reign of Innocent III onwards in the form of a permanent call for peace among the Christian rulers of the Peninsula.[8] However, the Roman Curia, as made clear in pontifical documents throughout the thirteenth century, at no time abandoned the idea that the Iberian kings would have to contribute economically to the recovery of the Holy Land.

The Castilian monarchy, however, was never deeply involved in the call for participation in the campaigns in the Holy Land, despite the mid-thirteenth-century change in papal policy aimed first at calling for greater commitment from the

Peninsular kings and the Military Orders to the Crusade to the Holy Land, and later to the Crusade decreed by Rome against the excommunicated emperor Frederick II. In 1245 Innocent IV communicated news of the loss of Jerusalem to Jaime I of Aragon, going on to ask for his help and granting indulgences and the remission of sins to all the *crucesignati*. The Pope addressed himself in similar terms to Alfonso, Count of Bologna, brother of the king of Portugal.[9] These requests, however, never reached the king of Castile directly. In Castile, the papal requirements were addressed instead to the Military Orders, which were then taking an active part in the campaigns against Al-Andalus led by Fernando III after the capture of Cordoba in 1236. In 1246, the Pope called for the Master of the Order of Santiago to fulfil his commitment to helping Emperor Baldwin, and a year later ordered him to leave for Constantinople, giving him a deadline of August 1247.[10] The date could not have been more inopportune, for the Castilian king's armies, accompanied by those of the Orders of Santiago and Calatrava, were at that moment *in exercitu prope Sibillam*, in the first months of a long siege that would culminate in the entry of the Christians into the city of Seville in November 1248.[11] Ever-greater papal pressure was brought to bear on the ecclesiastic elites and the knights of the Military Orders. Yet the kings, at least in Castile, managed to stay on the side-lines.

In subsequent decades, the commitment made by certain members of the Castilian nobility to the Eastern Crusade gave rise to mutual reproaches between them and Alfonso X. In the course of the revolt of the nobles in 1272–1273, later described in the *Crónica de Alfonso X*, a key argument of the complaints by the nobility was the action of the king at the moment when some of the more powerful rebels – such as Juan Núñez de Lara, descendant of our Count Rodrigo from the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* – had committed themselves to the defence of the Holy Land.[12] The defiance of the Lord of Lara, who left for the East without his king's permission, highlighted the complex web of power and interests involved in a crusading vow in the kingdom of Castile.

In the same period, around 1250, in the Castilian monastery of Arlanza, the *Poema de Fernán González* was written. This work glorifies the Count Fernán González who in the mid-tenth century had risen against his liege, the king of León, and had founded the independent kingdom of Castile. Among other warlike episodes, a central part in the description of the hero was played by a mythical battle between Fernán González and the famed Muslim general Almanzor, which never took place since the two historical chieftains were not even contemporaries. Fernán González was described as a true Crusader, thus establishing a parallel between the Castilian count of lore and the present-day Fernando III.[13] The images of the crusading people and a banner bearing the cross gave a highly evocative idea of a reality that had nothing to do with the moment in the tenth century when these events were supposed to have taken place. Nor did they reflect, however, the reality at the time when the *Poema de Fernán González* was written, as the accounts of the conquests of Fernando III in the lands of Al-Andalus were a long way from embodying either ideology or images from the Crusade.

The strength of identity emanating from the Crusader movement and the purifying call of the Holy Land formed a part of the Iberian political imagination, even though the acceptance of commitments to the Crusade led, in practice, to a conflict of interests within the Iberian kingdoms. This was especially the case at a moment when the pressure from the papacy, seeking greater involvement in the preparation of expeditions to the East, conflicted with the need for men and resources to face the increasing pace of the Christian conquests in Al-Andalus in the mid-thirteenth century. Nevertheless, the memory of the East and Crusade remained alive. Alfonso X recalled in his second will the nostalgia for *Ultramar*, linking himself to Jerusalem through distant ancestors, perhaps in an effort to evoke better times than those in which he lived. Although he had never shown the slightest intention of heeding the papal summons to join the Crusader armies, shortly before his death in 1284 Alfonso X requested that when he expired his heart should be taken to the Holy Land and buried in Jerusalem on Mount Calvary, where some of his forebears lay.[14] Against his will, his heart was buried together with the rest of his body in the Cathedral of Seville, where he lived the last years of his reign and where the remains of his father, the conqueror of the city, also rested.

Reconquering kings and noble Crusaders

Overall, the documentary sources suggest that there must have been few who left from Castile for the Holy Land. The lists of fighters give a few hints, although the chronicles of the Crusades only rarely refer to those coming from Iberia. Sometimes they are legendary figures, like the Green Knight who reached Tyre in 1188 and so impressed Saladin that the latter tried to persuade him to enter his service.[15] There are also sporadic mentions of pilgrimages to Jerusalem in the episcopal and monastic cartularies of the kingdom of Castile, although it is not usually clear whether those leaving the Peninsula were going as Crusaders or as pilgrims.[16]

Despite the sparse documentary evidence, we know of references – either direct or through subsequent dispensation granted by the papacy – to Crusader vows that were expressly made by members of the most powerful families of the Castilian nobility. These Crusader vows show, in the context of the political circumstances, that the recourse to a commitment in the East allowed rebellious nobles to escape royal jurisdiction, thanks to the papal protection that was granted to those who had taken the vow. What can barely be glimpsed in the *Crónica de Alfonso X* during the last decades of the thirteenth century – the strategic use of the Crusade made by rebellious nobles – had been clearly visible in the documentation of earlier reigns, when both the Crusade and the Reconquest still formed a part of the daily universe of rulers and the nobility.

In March 1196 Pope Celestine III granted a dispensation from a crusading vow to the Holy Land to Diego López de Haro, *alférez regio* or royal standard-bearer and one of the most powerful nobles of Castile during the reign of Alfonso VIII (1158–1214), commuting it to that of fighting the pagans within the Iberian Peninsula.[17] The dispensation was probably related to the Christian defeat at the battle of

Alarcos in 1195, which put a halt to Christian expansion in Al-Andalus. However, this does not explain the reasons that led Diego López de Haro to take the crusading vow in the first place, nor is there any reference in the diplomas of Alfonso VIII, where the *alférez* constantly appears, to his condition of Crusader as revealed by the papal document. Some years later, in 1221, Pope Honorius III took under his protection the noble Pedro González de Marañón as a *crucesignato in Terre Sancte subsidium*. The political consequences of papal protection were obvious, since it brought with it the safeguard of the goods and families of the Crusader, and contained a direct threat to those who did not respect it.[18] Similarly, in this case the royal documentation – that of Fernando III – has no record of the Crusader status of Pedro González de Marañón, despite the evidence of the papal charter.

These two examples point out the peculiarity of the Castilian case, where there are hardly any references to the involvement of the nobility in the defence of the Holy Land, which was actively encouraged by the papacy between the final decades of the twelfth century and the first of the thirteenth. There is no record of any other commitments to travel to the East, nor of how the nobles saw their role in the Crusader movement, if indeed they did undertake it.[19] Nor is there any link between Diego López de Haro and Pedro González de Marañón, apart from their nobility and their position at the royal court. There is, however, one common factor: at about the time of their Crusader vows, each had openly defied the power of the Castilian monarch.

The conflict between Diego López de Haro and the king of Castile is reflected in the magnate's absence from the signatories to royal documents, his departure from the *alferecía* – which he had held since 1183 – and his new proximity to the king of Leon, then at war with Castile, in clear defiance of the authority of Alfonso VIII. The connection between the lord of Haro's Crusader vow – known only by its commutation in 1196 – and the confrontation with the king at the end of the 1180s seems evident; the guarantee of papal protection against possible reprisals by the king must have been one of the main reasons for the *alférez* to commit himself to the Holy Land. Pedro González de Marañón, on the other hand, took part with other nobles in the rebellions against Fernando III in the early years of his reign. At a date probably close to the swearing of his vow and under papal protection, the lord of Marañón put his name and his seal to an extraordinary document addressed to King Louis VIII of France, wherein a group of Castilian noblemen offered him the throne of Castile, to which he was legitimately entitled according to them, as the husband of Blanche of Castile, the daughter of King Alfonso VIII.[20]

The promoter of this offer to Louis VIII was Rodrigo Díaz de Cameros, also a member of the royal court of Fernando III. Two important chronicles written in Castile at the end of the 1230s highlight the role of the lord of Cameros among the rebels in the 1220s and his status as a Crusader. The *Chronica Regum Castellae* – probably the work of the royal chancellor Juan de Osma and dated to about 1236 – mentions that, after the revolt, Rodrigo Díaz de Cameros returned the property he had received from the king in exchange for a considerable sum of money, for he had some time before taking the Crusader vow and wished to set

off for the Holy Land (*volens ire in sucursum Terre Sancte*). However, the *De Rebus Hispaniae* – a work contemporary with that of the Chancellor, written by the Archbishop of Toledo, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada – stresses the fact that Fernando III had summoned the rebellious nobleman to the royal court, and that he had refused to attend since the king had no authority over him as a Crusader on his way to the Holy Land.[21] In the first, the noble Crusader's wish to leave for the Holy Land had apparently contributed to the solution of the conflict; the second raises a legal problem, that of the challenge to royal power, when the nobleman considered himself, in his condition of Crusader, to be beyond the monarch's jurisdiction.

The routineness of the Crusader vow in France or England contrasts with its rarity in Castile. However, Castilian noblemen who did take the vow behaved like many from other Christian kingdoms, who saw in the strategy of committing themselves to the Crusade a way of obtaining protection from attacks that they or their families or properties might suffer, especially if the *molestatores* were kings. By contrast with the harsh ecclesiastical sanctions imposed on those in other kingdoms who had not fulfilled their vows, or who had taken too long to do so, none of the noble Castilian Crusaders complied with their obligations; what is more, Rome did not even seem to expect it of them. The papal strategies had to do with the specific situation of the Iberian kingdoms, since the war against the Muslims in Al-Andalus was considered an exempting circumstance for Peninsular nobility's non-participation in the Crusade to the Holy Land. In such a context, the Crusader vow allowed the nobility to escape royal jurisdiction at moments of conflict.

The Crusader vow was not taken only by the nobility of the Iberian kingdoms. In need of papal protection, some kings established that privileged relationship with the Roman Curia, accepting the commitment as a way of strengthening their legitimacy.[22] The kings of Castile, however, never accepted personally the obligation to fight in the Holy Land: they neither took the vow, nor did they submit their activities to the commitment they had made with Rome. The reasons for this peculiarity are again clear: warring by Castilian monarchs in favour of Christianity was already validated by their fight against the Muslims of Al-Andalus within their own territories, as the Castilian monarchs themselves frequently proclaimed.[23]

Yet the case of Castile was exceptional in Iberia, even bearing in mind that all the Peninsular kingdoms had at some point in their existence been in contact with Al-Andalus and thus all of them could allege that they were not tied to the obligations imposed by the Eastern Crusade. Some Iberian rulers submitted themselves to papal designs by taking the crusader vow, not with the intention of leaving for Jerusalem but of fighting the Muslims at the borders of their own kingdoms. This is what was done in 1219 by Sancho VII of Navarre (1194–1234) and in 1220 by Alfonso IX of León (1188–1230).

These two cases, however, should be set in their proper context. In that of Navarre, to the fact of being the only Iberian kingdom without a frontier with the Muslims in the thirteenth century, must be added the weakness caused by the wars of Sancho VII against Castile and Aragon and the different alliances that he established with the Muslims at the end of the twelfth century in order to buttress

his small kingdom between his larger Christian neighbors. In 1196 the king of Navarre made a pact with the Almohads, agreeing that he would not fight them if Castile asked for his assistance, an attitude severely reproached by Pope Celestine III. In subsequent years, faced with Castilian and Aragonese pressure against the borders of Navarre, King Sancho asked the Almohads for their help. When in 1219 Pope Honorius III granted his protection to Sancho VII, what was in fact being recognized was Navarre's weakness against its powerful neighbours.[24] Also in 1196 Alfonso IX of León was threatened with excommunication by Celestine III if he did not renounce his alliance with the Almohads; a year later the pope granted the indulgence of the Holy Land to anyone fighting the Leonese if Alfonso IX persisted in his defiance. The absence of the Leonese king from the epic battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212 – a consequence of the war between Leon and Castile – was harshly criticized, and it weakened the position of Alfonso IX vis-à-vis the neighbouring kingdoms, even jeopardizing the expansion of Leon against Al-Andalus. As in the case of Sancho VII, the weakness of Alfonso IX in the complex political panorama of the peninsula in the first decades of the thirteenth century probably explains his commitment with Rome.[25]

In the end, the only Iberian king who took a Crusader vow to fight in the Holy Land was Theobald I of Navarre (1234–1253). As well as the distance from Al-Andalus, which had been an important factor during the time of Sancho VII, it was Theobald's status as Count of Champagne that obliged him to become a Crusader. Theobald had been one of the leaders of the revolt of the nobles against Louis IX in 1234, the same year in which he was crowned king of Navarre. The protection conferred by the Crusader vow freed him from reprisals when the revolt failed. This same vow protected him in his newly acquired kingdom from the threats of other Iberian kings and also from his own rebellious subjects.[26]

The King's Crusade

Between the last years of the 1230s and the first of the 1240s an account was composed of the Castilian-led victory against the Almohads at Las Navas de Tolosa (1212), the pitched battle that had enormous repercussions in its day.[27] Noblemen and armies came from across the Iberian kingdoms, and the kings of Aragon and Navarre joined in personally as well. Expectations were very high: Innocent III granted indulgences to the nobility of France who took part in the campaign and ordered a procession to be held in Rome to celebrate the success of the expedition, which all the inhabitants of the city were enjoined to attend.[28] The battle of Las Navas was a decisive event in the construction of the Reconquest in the Iberian imagination.

Elements such as the concession of Crusader indulgences and preaching in the south of France reinforced the interpretation of Las Navas as a Crusade, incorporating it into a movement which was being revived under the auspices of the papacy at the same time.[29] This interpretation, however, leaves aside key factors for the understanding both of the political dynamics in the kingdom of Castile and of the

opportunities for the legitimization of royal power by an ambivalent discourse like that of the war against the Muslims. It allowed the king to take the leading role in the defence of the frontiers of Christianity, apart from the initiatives and authority of the pope. In this way, the accounts of the battle given by documents and chronicles selected their material carefully, giving greater importance to aspects boosting royal power while also minimizing any papal leadership.[30]

The news of Christian victory spread rapidly. Shortly after the campaign, in July 1212, Alfonso VIII of Castile informed Pope Innocent III of the defeat of the Almohads, stressing that he had fulfilled his commitment to maintain at his own expense all those who came to fight *de transmontanis partibus*, and emphasizing the heavy burden it had proved to be for the Castilian treasury to supply the armies camped in the city of Toledo. Alfonso VIII complained that the lack of interest of the *ultramontanos* had been obvious almost from the moment they reached the royal camp, and that they abandoned the campaign in spite of being rewarded with half the spoils from the taking of the castle of Calatrava. The rest of the letter was taken up with war strategy, the king's willingness to die *pro fide*, divine assistance for the great win, the miraculous lack of losses among the victorious armies, the sacking of castles and towns and the capture of a great number of prisoners who would be used to repair the damaged monasteries of the frontier.[31]

Letters like that of Alfonso VIII to Innocent III, as well as the memories and experiences of the chroniclers themselves, provided input for the accounts of Las Navas written at the end of the 1230s. The *De Rebus Hispaniae* and the *Chronica Regum Castellae* reveal the different involvement of their authors in the elaboration of a discourse of proper monarchic legitimacy confronted with the papacy in the context of the war against the Muslims. Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, Archbishop of Toledo, wrote in *De Rebus Hispaniae* a meticulous account of events in which he himself had played a leading role. From the beginning the Iberian armies who answered Alfonso VIII's call took on the burden of the campaign, despite the presence of French noblemen – bearing the Cross on their bodies (*stigmata Domini in corpore suo portancium*) – and of a crowd of combatants from widely varied backgrounds. The iconography of the cross and the reference to the role of the Archbishop of Narbonne against the Albigensians of the south of France reinforce the memory of the Crusade in *De Rebus Hispaniae*; however, the papacy as the ultimate reference in the legitimization of war against the Muslims was completely absent. There was no place for Innocent III in the Archbishop of Toledo's chronicle: its author, elsewhere so prolix in narrating his personal experiences, sidestepped episodes such as his own attempts to involve King Philippe Auguste in the campaign, or his preaching in France, which would have given the preparation of the campaign at Las Navas a similar status to that of the call for a Crusade.

Other contemporary sources, however, such as the *Chronicon Mundi* – the work of Lucas de Tuy when he was a canon at San Isidoro de León – underline the role of the Archbishop of Toledo as pontifical legate for the organization of the campaign, stressing the importance of the indulgence and the sign of the cross in Jiménez de Rada's preaching in France.[32] Finally, the *Chronica Regum Castellae*, written at

the court of Fernando III, differs radically from the version by Lucas de Tuy. The Archbishop of Toledo appears as an instrument of the Castilian monarchy, apart from Innocent III and the interests of the Roman Curia, which are not mentioned at all; nor are the remission of sins or other benefits of the Crusade promised to the French troops.[33] The focus is centred squarely on the king of Castile.

From this point on the *Chronica Regum Castellae* agrees with some of the arguments put forward at the same time by Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada himself in *De Rebus Hispaniae*: external assistance to the Peninsula was scarce, and the campaign was restricted to the strictly Iberian domain of Castile, Aragon, Navarre and their respective sovereigns. Financing was largely assumed by the churches of Castile, which gave half of their income for a year, and by the monarch, as Alfonso VIII himself had carefully stressed in his correspondence with Innocent III. The papacy was ostensibly absent. The departure of the *ultramontani* because of the heat – for they were used to living in shade in temperate regions, mocks the chronicler – was, in fact, a divine reward, since now the glory of the victory was exclusively for the Castilians.

The Christian victory of Las Navas in 1212 was shown as a discourse of royal legitimacy which inevitably had to play down the intervention of the papacy and avoid establishing direct links to the Crusade. This explains why it is the chronicle closest to the royal court – that written by the chancellor Juan de Osma – that most clearly breaks the link between Christian expansion against Al-Andalus and a genuinely papal enterprise like the Crusade. The war against Iberian Muslims had enabled the strengthening of Castilian royal authority by keeping it apart from the negotiations with the papacy imposed on other kingdoms through the commitment to fighting Muslims in the Holy Land.

More than 200 years had passed between the Christian victory in Las Navas in 1212 and the writing of *El Conde Lucanor.* After this time, the Crusade was already a memory in Iberia, as it probably was in all the Christian kingdoms of Europe. By then in Castile it had lost the ambiguity which accompanied the Crusader phenomenon from its very beginnings, and which had enabled kings and noblemen to use it in their own favour in internal conflicts. The selective memory of the Crusade, which had been a mechanism of royal legitimacy in the accounts of the battle of Las Navas. had become a post-memory in the time of Don Juan Manuel. The tension between Crusade and Reconquest had given way to an idealized zone where the experiences of the nobility and codes of chivalry could be magnified and used as examples.

Notes

1 Don Juan Manuel, *El Conde Lucanor*, Madrid: Cátedra, 2004.
2 A. Maya (ed.), *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, *Chronica hispana saeculi XII*, Turnhout: Brepols, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis, 71, 1990.
3 A. Rucquoi, 'Le testament de Doña Teresa Gil', in *Femmes. Mariages. Lignages. XII^e–XIV^e siècles. Mélanges offerts à Georges Duby*, Brussels: De Boeck, 1992, pp. 305–23.
4 P. Linehan, 'The Church, the economy and the Reconquista in early fourteenth-century Castile', *Revista Española de Teología* 43, 1983, 275–303.

5 In 1267 Alfonso X announced that 'Pedro Perez, dean de Çamora e mio clerigo, que ha de recabdar fecho de la cruzada en el regno de Leon por mi' (Pedro Perez, dean of Zamora and my clerk, shall collect information for the crusade in the kingdom of Leon for me). In 1265 and 1285 it was ordered that the collection for the crusade should not prejudice the Order of St. John. J.A. Martín Fuertes (ed.), *Colección documental del archivo municipal de León (1219–1400)*, León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación de San Isidoro, 70, 1998, n. 10, pp. 16–17.

6 In 1252, Pope Innocent IV communicated to Pedro Piperno, his collector in Spain, that he had extended the deadline for the Bishop of Pamplona's payment of the *vigesima*: A. Quintana (ed.), *La documentación pontificia de Inocencio IV (1243–1254)*, Rome: Instituto Español de Historia Eclesiástica, 1987, 2 vols, vol. 2, n. 813, p. 715.

7 D. Mansilla (ed.), *La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III*, Rome: Instituto Español de Estudios Eclesiásticos, 1955, n. 62, pp. 79–80.

8 In 1210, it asked the archbishop of Toledo to urge the king of Castile to fight against the Muslims. Rome never lost sight of the Eastern Crusade, nor the need to finance it, in its correspondence with the Castilian kings. In 1201, Innocent III had sent to the Hispanic monasteries collectors of the tax destined to the liberation of the Holy land. Ibid., ns. 416, 241, pp. 436, 269–70. The amount of some of what was collected is known: in 1221 the abbess of the Monastery of Las Huelgas in Burgos had handed over 4,706 *aurei* to the Templar Diego Manso in payment of the *vigesima*. Ibid., n. 387, pp. 287–8. P. Linehan, *The Spanish Church and the Papacy in the Thirteenth Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971.

9 Quintana, *La documentación pontificia de Inocencio IV (1243–1254)*, vol. 1, ns. 94 and 96, pp. 104–8.

10 Ibid., ns. 255 and 353, pp. 284–5 and 361–2.

11 A. Rodríguez, 'Narratives of expansion, last wills, poor expectations and the conquest of Seville (1248)', in *The Making of Europe: Essays in Honour of Robert Bartlett*, Leiden: Brill, 2016, pp. 123–43.

12 The king's emissaries said to Juan Núñez de Lara that 'avn quando vos fueses a Vltramar, la tierra nunca vos la quiso toller et dióla a vuestro fijo et oy en día la tenedes dél e vuestro fijo a buena fe' (even when you went overseas, he never wished to take your land away, and gave it to your son, and today you hold it thanks to [the king's] grace and your son). M. González (ed.), *Crónica de Alfonso X*, Murcia: Real Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 1998, ch. XXX and XXXIIII, pp. 99–102 and 109–10. Juan Núñez de Lara took part with Theobald II of Navarre in the crusade of Louis IX in Tunis, where the king of France died in 1270.

13 The poem is dated to about 1250–1252. 'El conde e sus gentes e todos los cruzados / a la çibdat de Burgos fueron todos llegados / folgaron e dormieron que eran muy cansados / demandaron maestros por sanar los llagados' (Verse 282) (The Count and his people and all the Crusaders / had all arrived at the city of Burgos / they relaxed and slept for they were very tired / and called for physicians to heal their wounded); 'Los pueblos castellanos essas gentes cruzadas / sacaron a los moros fuera de sus posadas / El conde don Fernando con todas sus mesnadas / fueron aquella noches todas bien albergadas' (Verse 510) (The Castilians, those Crusading people / took the Moors from their lodgings / Count Don Fernando and all his retinue / were well housed that night). J. Victorio (ed.), *Fernán González*, Madrid: Cátedra, 1990.

14 G. Daumet, 'Les testaments d'Alphonse X le Savant, roi de Castille', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 67, 1906, 70–99.

15 L. de Mas Latrie (ed.), *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard Le Trésorier*, Paris: Societé d'Histoire de France, 1871.

16 *Quando Iherusalem iuit*, read a will from 1159: J.M. Fernández Catón (ed.), *Colección Diplomática del Archivo de la Catedral de León, V*, León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación de San Isidoro, 45, 1990, n. 1512, pp. 326–7. Between 1209 and 1247 María Jiménez, a nun of Las Huelgas in Burgos, sold to her brother, Archbishop Don Rodrigo, the legacy of

their brother, who had died abroad. F.J. Hernández (ed.), *Los Cartularios de Toledo*, Madrid: Fundación Ramón Areces, 1985, n. 479, p. 480.

17 P. Kehr, *Papsturkunden in Spanien vorarbeiten zur Hispania Pontificia*, Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1970, 2 vols, vol. 2, 572, n. 217.

18 Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN) Madrid, Sección CLERO *Bujedo de Campanares*, file 174/10; A. Rodríguez, 'Légitimité royale et discours de la croisade en Castille. XIIe– XIIIe siècles', *Journal des Savants* 1, 2004, 129–63.

19 In March 1219 Pope Honorius III gave the Archbishop of Toledo the power to commute the vows of some crusaders. Mansilla, *La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III*, n. 208, p. 161.

20 A. Rodríguez, '"Quod alienus regnet et heredes expelatur". L'offre du trône de Castille au roi Louis VIII de France', *Le Moyen Age* 105/1, 1999, 109–28.

21 L. Charlo Brea (ed.), *Chronica Latina Regum Castellae*, Turnhout: Brepols, Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Medievalis, 1997, 73; J. Fernández Valverde (ed.), *Historia de Rebus Hispaniae. Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada*, Turnhout: Brepols, Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Medievalis, 1987, 72.

22 The vows of John Lackland, of Henry III of England and of Emperor Frederick II are well known. The commitment to the Crusade of Louis IX of France does not come into the same category.

23 F. García Fitz, *La reconquista*, Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2010. For the debate on the Crusade and Reconquest, see A.P. Bronisch, *Reconquista y guerra santa. La concepción de la guerra en la España cristiana desde los visigodos hasta comienzos del siglo XII*, Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2006 and P. Henriet, 'L'idéologie de guerre sainte dans le haut Moyen Âge hispanique', *Francia* 29/1, 2002, 171–220.

24 In 1219 the pope asked the archbishop of Toledo to protect the king of Navarre from his neighbours. Publ. Mansilla, *La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III* , n. 223, p. 170.

25 There is no surviving testimony of the vow of Alfonso IX. In 1220 the same indulgences as those given to the King of Leon, who had taken the Cross, were granted to those fighting on the Peninsula. Ibid., n. 339, p. 251.

26 In 1236 Gregory IX urged Louis IX to make peace with the King of Navarre, who had taken the Cross. L. Auvray (ed.), *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, Paris: Thorin, 1896, 2 vols, vol. 2, n. 3195, cols. 413–14. The same was asked to Fernando III of Castile in 1237. Ibid, n. 3475, col. 547.

27 D. Lomax, 'La conquista de Andalucía a través de la historiografía europea de la época', in E. Cabrera (ed.), *Andalucía entre Oriente y Occidente (1236–1492)*, Córdoba: Diputación de Córdoba, 1988, pp. 37–49.

28 Women would go *sine auro et gemmis et sericis indumentis, orando cum devotione ac humilitate, in fletu et gemitu, nudis pedibus omnes que possunt*. Mansilla, *La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III*, n. 473, pp. 503–4.

29 There are no references to the Holy Land nor to the indulgences for the Eastern Crusade in the papal grants to the fighters. In January 1212 Innocent III granted Alfonso VIII remission of his sins, at the same time recommending that he should accept truces if offered and wait for a better moment for victory. Ibid., n. 470, pp. 500–1.

30 The absence of Innocent III from Las Navas is also highlighted in D.J. Smith, '"Soli Hispani?" Innocent III and Las Navas de Tolosa', *Hispania Sacra* 51, 1999, 487–513.

31 Mansilla, *La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III*, n. 488, pp. 519–21. A letter has survived from Berenguela, daughter of the king of Castile, to her sister Blanche, wife of the future Louis VIII of France, in similar terms: J. González, *El reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII*, Madrid: CSIC, 1960, 3 vols, vol. 3, n. 898, pp. 572–4. On doubts about the authorship, T. Vann, '"Our father has won a great victory": the authorship of Berenguela's account of the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, 1212', *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 3/1, 2011, 79–92.

32 E. Falque (ed.), *Lucae Tudensis: Chronicon Mundi,* Turnhout: Brepols, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis, 74, 2003.

33 Brea, *Chronica Latina Regum Castellae*, pp. 56–64.

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14

THE MUSLIM MEMORY OF THE CRUSADES

Alex Mallett

Today, the period of the Crusades holds a particular, and infamous, place in the Muslim psyche. With Arab nationalism contributing to the end of European colonialism in the Middle East, Muslims found it useful to regard, as various Islamist groups still do, the Crusades as a European proto-colonial exercise, a view that has generally fallen out of favour among western scholars of the period. This view is kept alive and reinforced by the existence of the state of Israel, particularly since many of the Jews living there migrated from Europe and because the boundaries of the state closely resemble those of the pre-Ḥaṭṭīn Kingdom of Jerusalem; consequently, Israel is seen as a covert European colonial entity, and is thus linked to the crusading period. Such a view has thus led to the widespread Modern Muslim perception of the crusading period as a time of European despoliation of Islamic lands religiously, politically, and economically, and the oppression of the Muslim inhabitants of the region. Yet this rather tidy narrative is not an accurate representation of how Muslims have perceived the Crusades across the centuries. Perspectives on the Frankish presence in the Levant and the events of the period have varied significantly over the centuries, ranging from viewing this with the utmost horror to regarding the Franks as simply one more in a pantheon of actors upon the stage that was the medieval Levant. The aim of the following chapter is to sketch, in fairly broad terms, how the Crusades have been remembered by Muslims from the first appearance of the Franks in the region in the late eleventh century up to the present day, and to highlight the main bases for these modes of commemoration.

The earliest memorialization of the Crusades[1]

The commencement of the process of memorializing the events of what were to become known as the Crusades by members of the Muslim community must have started in the immediate aftermath of the events of the First Crusade, instantly in

the case of those who witnessed them directly, and in the days, weeks and months following for those who learnt of them aurally. But the primarily oral nature of these accounts means they have not survived, nor has any written communication on the events that may have existed, while later writings purporting to relate these accounts cannot be relied on for factual accuracy.[2] Thus, the earliest extant evidence for the memory of the Crusades in Islamic society comes from several years after the First Crusade, in a small number of surviving texts.

In contrast to evidence from the Frankish side, which, for the early years of the crusading period, is primarily in the form of chronicles, the earliest surviving Muslim evidence comes from other genres, specifically religious texts, poems, and 'Mirrors for Princes' writings. Examining first the corpus of three extant poems from the early twelfth century, the principal concern and focus of them all is the suffering to the Muslims and the damage to Islam itself caused by the Frankish invasion and continued presence. The poems describe in emotive detail how the Muslims have been attacked, the blood of many spilt, Muslim men enslaved and women violated, and how those who are left live in fear because of the Franks. For Islam itself, the damage is presented as being just as significant: mosques have been made into churches, crosses set up in *miḥrāb*s, the blood of pigs spread around them, and Qurans burnt to provide incense. The Franks, identified as polytheists, are described as being like a flood, and their killing and destruction spares no one or nothing that resists them. At the finale of each of the poems, the writer challenges the audience to respond: to avenge the Muslims, to protect Islam, and, in so doing, to honour God.[3]

These ideas are also seen in the second extant piece of evidence from the initial period of the Crusades, the Persian-language 'Mirrors for Princes' text *Tuḥfat al-mulūk*, whose final chapter is devoted to jihad. Although the circumstances of composition are contested, it was probably written before 1119, and according to one school of thought, was authored by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, in which case it must have been written before his death in 1111. In this text the writer again highlights the evil done by the Franks (whom he labels simply as *al-kuffār*, 'the infidels') to the Muslims: how they have occupied Islamic lands, destroyed the minbars, turned Abraham's shrine into a pigsty and Jesus' cradle into a drinking house, removed Islam from the land and spread their unbelief. Following this brief though provocative introduction to the text, the author then spends the remainder attempting to persuade the addressee – who is identified as the sultan, although which one is unclear – to come to the aid of the Muslims, using Quranic passages, hadith, and other religious texts and ideas as the basis. In attempting to be successful in this, the author employs an alternating mixture of bribes and threats, such as the rewards for those who die as martyrs and the lack of intercession on Judgement Day for those who failed in their duty to fight the enemies of Islam.[4]

However, the most famous of the early texts memorializing the Crusades, and that which has been the subject of by far the most scholarly attention, is al-Sulamī's 1105 tract *Kitāb al-jihād* ('The Book of Jihad').[5] Most of the work has been lost, and the majority of the surviving sections of this text follow rather standard models within

such books on jihad, presenting ideas such as by whom, where, when, and how jihad should be waged, heavily backed up by examples from hadith. However, the section known as Book 2 is particularly important, as the events of the First Crusade itself are memorialized here. Al-Sulamī wrote, almost uniquely, that they were, for the Franks, religious warfare[6] – although he also described them as motivated by a desire for material gain and highlights their plundering of Muslim wealth and their violation of women[7] – and caused by Muslim disunity, in-fighting, and disregard for jihad;[8] in essence, the Franks are a form of divine chastisement. More positively though, he also presents the Frankish invasion as an opportunity for Muslims to re-unite in the face of the enemy, to strengthen Islam, to help their fellow-Muslims, and to gain both spiritual and material rewards, including the chance to be the warriors mentioned in hadith as retaking Jerusalem before capturing Constantinople, with the suggestion of Paradise also dangled before the reader.[9] As has been demonstrated by a number of scholars, al-Sulamī's words were designed to force his listeners, and the Muslim rulers in general, into action.[10]

The memory of the Frankish invasion constructed by each of these earliest writers thus takes a slightly different approach. The poets seek to highlight the wrongs done to Islam by the Franks in terms that are designed to evoke great shock and anger, and to evince a desire for retribution. Al-Sulamī, on the other hand, while not completely ignoring this aspect, focuses primarily on the opportunity that the Frankish presence offers, both for Islam and for individual Muslims. In the case of *Tuḥfat al-mulūk*, there is a mixture of the two, with the author alternating between the proverbial carrot (rewards for fighting the Franks) and stick (the threat of hell for the sultan who does not).

These variations in themes must be seen as part of the reasons each author had for writing. For the presentation of the events are not responses to the Franks per se, but are, rather, responses to the Muslim leadership's lack of reaction to them, and are thus comments on the internal Muslim political situation. As poetry was primarily designed to be read out in public so anyone could hear it,[11] and since this literary form was traditionally a vehicle for the articulation of grievances,[12] by memorializing Frankish activity in this way the writers were employing a style that would have been very familiar to their audience, using language designed to evoke a reaction, in a very public forum. The poets' highlighting of the suffering of the Muslims and their indignation at the lack of response could be seen as a written manifestation of, and may have contributed to, instances of widespread public anger about the lack of action against the Franks, manifested perhaps most clearly when a group of Muslims vandalized both the sultan's and the caliph's mosque in Baghdad in 1110–11 because of it.[13] Similarly, the writer of *Tuḥfat al-mulūk* was also attempting, as befits a 'Mirrors for Princes' text, to influence the behaviour of the sultan, using a mode of communication typical of the time and circumstances.[14] Al-Sulamī's aim in pronouncing his tract, which implicitly criticizes the Damascene hierarchy and other members of the *ʿulamāʿ* who did nothing to counter the Frankish threat, appears to have been to deliver it in a manner that was as quietist as possible, in order to avoid

personal criticism from more learned religious scholars, while still seeking to promote resistance at a local level, which could then grow throughout society.[15]

Yet as well as this criticism of a lack of response seen during the initial decades, there were other means by which the Crusades were memorialized in this period. A good example of this is the panegyric poem written by the Aleppan author al-ʿAẓīmī in celebration of the victory of Īl-Ghāzī, the Artuqid ruler of Aleppo, over the Antiochene forces at the battle of Balāṭ/the Field of Blood in 1119, in which he presented Īl-Ghāzī as the defender of Islam against the Franks.[16] While initially this may seem a religiously-inspired portrayal, a wider examination of aspects of the author's life suggests otherwise. Two in particular are of significance: first, al-ʿAẓīmī was primarily a teacher who was also on the periphery of the Aleppan court; secondly, in al-ʿAẓīmī's other surviving work, his history of Aleppo, there is neither hatred and fear of the Franks nor criticism of the Muslim leadership for their failure to do anything about the situation. As such, it is more than likely that his poetic praise of Īl-Ghāzī must be seen as an attempt to advance his career through court panegyrics rather than a clear reflection of his own thoughts on the matter.[17]

The manner in which al-ʿAẓīmī presented the events of the early crusading period in his chronicle, alluded to above, seems to reflect those found in other historical works of the time. For example, Ibn al-Azraq and parts of other chronicles from the early period of the Crusades, which have survived in the works of later authors such as Ibn al-ʿAdīm, contain little of the anti-Frankish bile which is poured out by later writers. These texts were written by scholars who were either close to, or attempting to get close to, the rulers who both faced and failed to resist the Franks effectively and so the image of the events is consequently much less dramatic, presenting them merely as another played on the Syrian stage at that point.[18]

Developments in memorialization during the later Zengid and Ayyūbid periods

It is regrettable that during the time of greatest intensity in the idea (if not the practice) of jihad against the Franks, the rule of Nūr al-Dīn, almost no surviving chronicles were written. The only extant example from this period is the latter part of the chronicle of Ibn al-Qalānisī, who was living in Damascus both before and after the takeover of the city by Nūr al-Dīn in 1154. His chronicle is of great interest since, across the work it is possible to see how the memorialization of the Crusades, in Damascus at least, altered according to political circumstances. For, this writer was one of a number of historians writing in Syria in the pre-Zengid period who did not seem to regard the crusading movement as anything more than the appearance of one more external force in the region. However, with the change of dynastic rule in his city from Būrid to Zengid rule and the consequent increase in the tone of militant jihad towards the Franks seen in the city, Ibn al-Qalānisī's text also changes in tone. The previously comparatively neutral view of the Franks within the text becomes much harsher, seemingly reflecting official policy. As one example of this, Christie has shown how, in the year 552/1157–8, Ibn al-Qalānisī starts,

apropos of nothing, to begin to curse the Franks in his chronicle, and has suggested that this was probably down to the increased anti-Frankish sentiments brought by Zengid rule.[19] Thus, it seems to have been at the time Nūr al-Dīn took over Damascus and began developing the idea of jihad against the Franks as a method of ensuring his political legitimacy, that Ibn al-Qalānisī's presentation altered, and he became both much more critical of the Franks and much more inclined to praise those who fought against them, particularly the ruler of his own town. As both he and other members of his family held important bureaucratic positions in the city,[20] his assessment of the Franks could primarily either be the result of a change in his personal opinion due to Zengid propaganda, or an attempt to court the favour of the rulers by reflecting their propaganda within his chronicle and thereby help maintain his own position within the state structure. Whichever is the case, it seems that the reasons for his changing presentation was primarily down to the internal political workings of a city in whose affairs he and his family had been closely involved, carried out for the advantage either of himself or his masters. Such is also seen in the works of other Damascence scholars of the time, such as Ibn ʿAsākir, whose tract on jihad was part of this new, more militantly anti-Frankish attitude, one whose main aim was to provide legitimization to a usurper.[21]

During the period of Saladin's rule, the invective against the Franks reached its zenith. This is most clearly demonstrated in two works of ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī on the Muslim campaigns in Syria: *al-Fatḥ al-qussi fī'l-fatīḥ al-qudsī* ('The Inspiration from al-Quss on the Conquest of Jerusalem') and *al-Barq al-Shāmī* ('The Syrian Lightning'). In these texts the Franks are presented as nothing more than the manifestation of evil, with their evilness increasing proportionately to their effectiveness against the Muslims. Often, this manifests itself in delight at the slaughter of the Franks or hyperbolic descriptions of their supposed deviance.[22] Yet again, and while there can be little doubt that the writer did feel such hatred and loathing for the enemy, the primary purpose of such a presentation was political. For despite Saladin's positive image in modern popular culture, he was not without his opponents during his lifetime, one group of which claimed that he was a usurper who had stolen power from the legitimate rulers, the sons of Nūr al-Dīn.[23] ʿImād al-Dīn sought to address this by giving legitimacy to Saladin's rule through highlighting both the depravity and the strength of the Franks; Saladin was, ʿImād al-Dīn's argument goes, the only leader who could stop them, as the underage Zengids would have been incapable of doing so.[24] Such is also the case in the writings of Bahāʾ al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, who also aimed to legitimize Saladin's reign in his text.[25] Since the wars of the Crusades were the foundations on which Saladin's legitimacy was based they gained particular significance, and it is in this context that the famous description of the crusader Reynald of Châtillon must be read. It is well known amongst crusade historians that Reynald is loathed and reviled in almost all the Arabic sources. Yet it is not so often acknowledged that this unanimity of feeling can be traced back to just two main sources, those of ʿImād al-Dīn and Bahāʾ al-Dīn. Reynald is so despised not because he had done anything unusual for the time; instead, it is simply that he was such a threat to Saladin due to the

location of his fortress of Kerak and his stance towards the Muslims, which was more hostile than the majority of other Frankish rulers at the time, who sought to placate the sultan. There is tacit admission of this in the work of ʿImād al-Dīn, as he records (accurately or not) Reynald saying of his behaviour: 'such is the way of kings; I have not followed any other way of acting'.[26] By presenting Reynald as such a monster, the Islamic authors seek to justify the rule of Saladin, who promised, and then carried out, his threat to kill him.

Following Saladin's triumphs at Ḥaṭṭīn and Jerusalem in 1187, the stalemate into which the Third Crusade descended, and his death in 1193, the attitude of his Ayyūbid descendants towards the Franks altered. They chose not to engage in a conflict to rid the Levant of the Franks completely, as they were concerned that, should they try to, another Crusade would be launched from Europe, and their internecine feuds would leave them poorly prepared to counter it. As such an attitude jarred with that of Saladin, a number of writers highlighted this and criticised them for it. Foremost amongst these was Abū Shāma, whose *Kitāb al-rawḍatayn* ('The Book of the Two Gardens', meaning the reigns of Nūr al-Dīn and Saladin), described the period before the rule of those two potentates in a manner that recalls the times of pre-Islamic ignorance. The reigns of Nūr al-Dīn and Saladin, and particularly their attitudes towards the Franks, are then presented as examples of Islamic rule perfected. This then allowed Abū Shāma to contrast their rules with those of his own lifetime, focusing especially on the latter's failure to prosecute the jihad against the Franks, and so make a political point about the state of the Muslim world at the time.[27] Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī wrote in a similar vein, and particularly harshly criticized the handover of Jerusalem to Frederick II in 1229. Yet again, and despite his personal viewpoint, which is likely to have been strongly opposed to such an agreement, internal political issues were also at play – the deal was agreed by the Ayyūbid ruler al-Kāmil who was, at the time, in conflict with Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī's master, al-Nāṣir Daʿūd.[28] Thus, the presentation is as much a critique of his master's political enemy as it is of the Franks themselves. Yet this was not the only reason Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī had for writing. Both his universal history, and that of Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi'l-taʾrīkh* ('The Complete History'), functioned as 'Mirrors for Princes' texts in which earlier Muslim rulers were held up as examples of how – and how not – to rule. Both of these writers saw fighting the enemies of Islam as a primary mode of correct governance, and so the battles of the Crusades became, in their works, ways in which rulers demonstrated they were up to the task, or not.[29]

Other writers, on the other hand, were not so concerned with this. The clearest example of such is Ibn Wāṣil in his *Mufarrij al-kurūb fī akhbār Banī Ayyūb* ('The Relief from Worries surrounding the Reports of the Ayyūbids'). In this, as Hirschler has demonstrated, the metanarrative highlights the existence of ideal rule throughout history, and how the Ayyūbids were just the latest manifestation of this. Consequently, the ways in which that dynasty interacted with the Franks and responded to the various Crusades to the Levant are also seen as being examples of ideal rule. While not seeking to present these events in a positive light, Ibn Wāṣil attempts to contextualize them by placing them within the political circumstances of

the time. Thus, he writes, the handover of Jerusalem to Frederick II in 1229 was justifiable as it would satisfy the Franks' immediate desire for the place, while the destruction of the city's walls meant it could be regained as soon as was wanted.[30]

Another notable writer from the same period was Ibn al-ʿAdīm. His two relevant writings, *Bughyat al-ṭalab fī taʾrīkh Ḥalab* and *Zubdat al-ḥalab min taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, were both written in praise of his home city of Aleppo, the former a prosopographical work and the latter a chronological text (though not it does not follow an annalistic format) based on and a summary of the former. As such, the Franks do enter the narratives, but generally only when they are involved in activities in areas surrounding Aleppo. Even then, there is little judgement levelled at the Franks – they primarily appear merely as another set of actors within the dramas of northern Syria. There are, however, a few exceptions to this. Reynald of Châtillon is again presented as the arch-villain, although this is because the writer copied verbatim from Saladin's camp *qāḍī* and hagiographer Bahāʾ al-Dīn, who he seems to have heard preach in Aleppo. Yet the fiercest criticism of Frankish activity is directed at Baldwin II, the king of Jerusalem (r. 1118–30), and Joscelin I, count of Edessa (r. 1118–31), because of what he regards as their inflammatory acts and aggressive behaviour against the city, particularly during the Frankish siege of 1124–5. However, it is important to emphasize that they are not criticized primarily because they are Franks fighting against Muslims, but because of their attacks on the object of praise in his writings, the city and people of Aleppo. Thus, the few specific criticisms of the Franks within his text are based either on copying from others who were more aggressive in their views against them or because of particularly atrocious acts by the Franks; generally speaking, there is little open aggression against them; like Ibn Wāṣil, his position in the Ayyūbid state probably meant he understood the political approach that dynasty was taking towards them.

During this period there was a third general approach to the cultural memory of the crusading period. This approach was one in which the events of the Crusades were used as the basis for panegyrics about the rulers. Works such as this were designed to bolster their jihad credentials, a crucial part of Islamic political legitimacy, and thus cement their position, no matter how different was the reality. This can clearly be seen in monumental inscriptions from the period, where all sorts of grandiose jihad titles were ascribed to rulers who did little of the sort.[31] During this period, with increased Muslim victories, poetry generally became much more triumphalist following the capture of Edessa by Zengī in 1144, even though many of these poems were still written as a way of bolstering one's career.[32]

However, there are also pieces that do, perhaps, have another motivation. A good example of this is the poetry of Ibn ʿUnayn, who wrote a piece in praise of the sultan al-Kāmil following the defeat of the Fifth Crusade at Damietta in 1221, in which he praised the ruler's commitment to fighting the jihad against the enemies of Islam.[33] Hillenbrand has noted this, and takes the praise of the sultan at face value.[34] However, this poet is primarily known for producing ironic pieces that actually scathingly criticize the government, and it may well be that here he is doing precisely that, given the poor Muslim response to the assault.[35]

The memorialization of the Crusades during the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods

The Ayyūbid dynasty was overthrown in Egypt in 1250 and in Syria by 1260, an aggressive dynasty of slave-soldiers who made jihad against the enemies of their brand of Sunnī Islam their priority. This was a necessity as, rather like Saladin, they had usurped power from the legitimate rulers and consequently needed to present themselves as the only power capable of defending Islamic lands, particularly with the recent arrival of the Mongols in Syria. Thus, also like Saladin, they used historical writings to give credence to them in this role and to highlight the outside threat. Examples of this type of work produced in this period include Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir's *al-Rawḍ al-ẓāhir* and Shāfi b. ʿAlī's *Ḥusn al-manāqib*, and in these the Franks are again painted uncompromisingly as the enemies of Islam and the Mamlūk victories over them as divine justice.[36]

Yet once the Franks were expelled from Syria in 1291, and as the memory of the events of the Crusades began to fade in the Muslim consciousness, the memorialization of them became rather more balanced and restrained. For example, in his extant works the famous Egyptian historian al-Maqrīzī (d. 1442) relates a number of episodes from the crusading period. Some of these are taken from extant material, such as the works of Ibn Wāṣil, while others were based on now-lost writings, such as al-Mundhirī's (d. 1258) *al-Muʿjam al-mutarjam*, which forms the basis of one of his accounts of the Frankish assault on Damietta during the Fifth Crusade. This author's almost exclusive focus on Egypt means that only events directly related to that region were included in any detail. When they are recounted, they seem to have been copied almost word-for-word from his sources, suggesting little political motivation to his accounts. The case could be made that this is simply caused by his copying his sources verbatim, and this is correct to an extent. However, it seems he chose sources that fitted into a model whereby the Franks were of little consequence. This is particularly the case with his descriptions of them, as his writings contain little or no bile against even the most hated of them, such as Reynald of Châtillon. On the other hand, Ibn al-Furāt (d. 1405), writing a few decades earlier, does contain harsh anti-Christian invectives in his universal chronicle.[37] His inclusion of such invective is primarily a case of his quoting verbatim from earlier sources, although his use of texts which are so anti-Christian, or at least his decision not to tone down the invective in any paraphrasing, was probably linked to the anti-Christian sentiments circulating in Egypt at the end of the fourteenth century that had been stoked by the Mamlūk authorities.[38] Thus, by the mid to late Mamlūk period the Crusades seem to have been regarded as firmly in the past and, given the steady march of the Mamlūks against the various Christian powers in the eastern Mediterranean, there was no need to dwell on the trauma the Franks had caused to the now-victorious Muslims.[39] They did, however, live on in the consciousness of some Muslims who linked them with the unwanted existence of communities of Christians within Islamic territory.

As has been recently noted, there has been little scholarly scrutiny of post-Mamlūk (i.e. Ottoman) period Islamic historiography of the crusading period.[40] While this viewpoint is generally accurate, some efforts in this direction have recently been

made. One area of Ottoman-era memorialization of the Crusades that has received such attention is the image of Saladin. It has been received wisdom in crusader studies for many years that Saladin, 'hero' of the Crusades to many in the West, was ignored and forgotten about in the Islamic world for centuries, and it was only through interaction with Europe and seeing the way in which Saladin was eulogized there that the Muslim world recognized that ruler's greatness.[41] However, recently it has been suggested that this view is incorrect, as Abouali has drawn particular attention to a poem written in Jerusalem in the early seventeenth century, in which the name of Saladin is invoked both as the conqueror of Jerusalem from godlessness and as the founder of the religious institution that the poem celebrates, the Ṣalāḥiyya Khānqāh, and has highlighted that this suggests that the wider public of Jerusalem at the time was well aware of Saladin's exploits and that these were part of the collective Muslim memory.[42] In addition, she also briefly highlighted that a significant number of texts were written between the end of the period of the Crusades in the Levant and the mid-nineteenth century, including a sixteenth-century 'Merits of Jerusalem' text, and an eighteenth-century history of Jerusalem.[43] Some Muslim historians, such al-Naʿima (d. 1716), even went so far as to highlight parallels between the Crusades and the various Christian conflicts with the Ottomans during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[44] Phillips has also recently pointed out that there was significant knowledge of Saladin's exploits within the Islamic world in the period between the fifteenth and early twentieth centuries.[45] With this evidence, it is clear that the old idea that the Muslim world simply 'forgot' about Saladin after the end of the Crusades needs revising.

Yet it was not only in 'high' literary works that the Crusades were remembered in the later medieval and early modern periods. The events of those times appear with significant regularity in various Islamic folk-tales, such as the *Sīrat Baybars*, although, as Hillenbrand has noted, in 'comic-strip' or 'soap-opera' form, thus having little in common with the events themselves.[46] However, having been created by the lower classes of Islamic society for their own consumption, the themes and contents of these folk-tales reflect the attitudes and ideas of those people. In these works the Franks, while generally shadowy characters, are seen as huge, clean-shaven, and fearsome warriors who attempt to take control of Jerusalem from the Muslims.[47] While these images differ little from those of the period before the Crusades, the Franks' appearances in the works are comparatively more frequent, and serve to underline the extent to which the crusading period increased knowledge and awareness of the Franks amongst Muslims of the Levant, and suggest that in the popular imagination the Franks had become part of the Syrian landscape.[48]

The memory of the Crusades in the modern Islamic world

Although the Crusades have, from the western perspective, finished – and a long time ago – they are, today, alive and well in large areas of the Islamic world, either as an idea of what the Christian world (as Muslims generally still see the West as being) is like, or as a reality, in which every western intervention – military, political,

economic, and so on – is seen as being driven by the desire to dominate and subjugate the Muslim world. It is not difficult to see how many in the Muslim world can use such ideas to make capital for themselves, whether they believe them or not.

Yet it is only relatively recently, during the early twentieth century, that the Crusades have been used in this way to a large extent, despite the earlier examples of this perspective noted above. It was at this time that they were recognized as a distinct phenomenon, as they always had been in Europe, which included being designated as: *al-ḥurūb al-ṣalibiyya* (The 'Cross' Wars) or *ḥarb al-ṣalib* (The War of the 'Cross').[49] Since this recognition as a separate phenomenon, they have generally been seen as a parallel and a lesson from the past for the present. The first Muslim history of the Crusades, for example, contains a note in the introduction stating that Europe was, at the time of writing, carrying out a new, political, Crusade against the Islamic world.[50] The Crusades currently have particular resonance in the Muslim world because of the existence of the State of Israel, due to the perceived parallels between the crusader states and Israel: both were established by people from and with the political backing of the West, both involved the forced eviction of Muslims from their homelands, and geographically Israel and the Kingdom of Jerusalem cover a similar territory. The events of the Crusades are used as a model and as the basis for a future Muslim victory over Israel, and parallels between the two historical events are often drawn.[51] This idea has been taken up with gusto by many within the Islamic world since the early twentieth century in order to further their own political causes, particularly anti-colonialism and anti-Zionism. Hillenbrand has highlighted the writings of Sayyid Qutb, one of the most important members of the Egyptian Muslim brotherhood (executed 1966), who declared that a 'Crusade' was any Christian attack on Islam at any point in history and under any circumstances, and he included the phenomenon of Zionism within this.[52] Other groups, including Hizbullah, Hamas, Hizb al-Tahrir, and ISIS,[53] have also used the idea of the Crusades in their propaganda against their opponents, both those in the West who are seen as supporting Israel and those in Muslims countries who fail to fight the situation.[54] The solution which all these Islamist groups have come up with in response to the current situation is, as during the Crusades, a jihad.[55] Yet it has not only been Islamist opposition groups who have employed the Crusades in their propaganda campaigns. The former Libyan leader, Colonel Qaddafi, employed the idea of western crusader aggression against the Muslim world in a particularly strident anti-western propaganda campaign in the 1980s.[56] One method by which Muslims political leaders have sought to present themselves positively is by suggesting they are 'new Saladins'. During the twentieth and twenty-first centuries the Saladin legend was often employed for political purposes across the Islamic world; for example, Saddam Hussein used the fact that both he and Saladin were born in the town of Tikrit in his propaganda as the strongman of the Middle East,[57] while President Hafiz Asad of Syria also used the Saladin idea to present himself as the defender of Islam against Israel.[58] Thus, the memory of the events of the Crusades, and the Muslim personalities of the time, continue to support various state ideologies even today.

Yet despite this use of the memory of the Crusades as a weapon in the propaganda war fought by some Muslims against the West in the modern period, and the general focus of scholars on how Muslim rulers and ideologues have presented the Crusades as the story of western aggression and successful Muslim resistance to that, the modern Islamic world contains multiple perspectives on the events. These perspectives, and how they differ across countries in the Arab world, have been highlighted through an analysis of how the Crusades are presented and memorialized in school textbooks in those countries.[59] As that which is taught in any education system is the product of the ruling classes' own ideology, and an often successful attempt to further ingrain that ideology within the population, modern attitudes to the Crusades can be identified through examining how they are presented in various education systems. In his study, Determann concluded that there are, in general, three interpretations of the Crusades presented in the education systems of the Arab world. The first, found in textbooks from Lebanon, Palestine, and Tunisia, has a fairly balanced approach to its presentation of the era, and uses western sources alongside Muslim ones. The second, seen in books from Jordan and Syria, mainly uses Muslim sources and defines the Crusades in terms of European greed and Muslim division. The third approach, in Libyan, Egyptian, and Saudi books, presents a sharp divide between the two sides, with the Crusades a conflict 'between the morally inferior West and the culturally and morally superior Islamic world, which has lasted until the present'.[60]

Each of these three interpretations reflects how the governments of the respective countries viewed and related to the West at the time of analysis. From the first group, Lebanon and Palestine are both countries with a history of religious conflicts, so their governments would want to promote understanding over previous wars, while both of these states, along with Tunisia, have strong cultural ties to Europe as well. Neither Syria nor Jordan have links with Europe that are generally as strong as those of the former group, and their leaders like to present themselves as strong Arab/Muslim nations that stand up to the West. In the third group, with the most zealous anti-Crusade textbooks, are countries which, in the case of Egypt and Libya, were most recently subjected to western attack (in 1956 and 1986 respectively),[61] but without the links to Europe and potential for inter-religious conflict seen with Lebanon and Palestine, and so are more sensitive to European intervention. Saudi Arabia, despite having generally good diplomatic relations with the West, is a Wahhabi-dominated Muslim theocracy, and so naturally follows the line that Islam is superior and any attack on it is by definition an evil act. While these categories and conclusions are rather general, they do help demonstrate that today, in classrooms across the Arab world, the way the memory of the Crusades is presented is designed to create a population whose attitudes to the West conform to those of their rulers.

Conclusion

In the Islamic world, the phenomenon known as the Crusades has never primarily been about the events of that period or the interactions between the Muslims and the Franks. Instead, the ways in which the Crusades have been

and still are remembered are as a means of contemporaneous political commentary. In the medieval period, and particularly the Ayyūbid era when the majority of chronicles used by historians were written, Muslim writers took one of two main approaches. The first, seen most clearly in the works of ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, as well as in those of writers such as Bahāʾ al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād and Ṣibt Ibn al-Jawzī, highlights the hatred and contempt with which the Franks were seen. In each of these cases, however, there was an ulterior motive. ʿImād al-Dīn and Bahāʾ al-Dīn were both Saladin's apologists, men who wished to use the Frankish presence in the Levant – and the unacceptability of that – as a reason for Saladin's takeover of most of the Near East at a time when he was regarded as a usurper by many. Ṣibt Ibn al-Jawzī, writing later, has a similar view of the Franks, but he was living in a period of political division and desired his political overlords to take action against them. The other approach, best illustrated by Ibn Wāṣil, relatively ignored the Franks as a threat or an evil, again for political reasons – the dynasty to whom he was attached, the Ayyūbids, did not see them as a great concern and so neither did he. In the modern era too, it is again internal Muslim politics that have shaped the Muslim memory of the Crusades; either they are ignored, or used by individuals or groups to further their own political aims. Consequently, as should be clear, the Muslim memory of the Crusades was and still is only important insofar as it acts as a yardstick by which the actions of the rulers of Muslim states can be judged.

Notes

1 This chapter employs the term memorialization to mean the processes by which societies that have been afflicted with violence reflect on and conserve the memories of the past, and how they form part of the ways in which people come to understand what occurred. As such, it is a more useful term than others such as 'representation' or 'history' as it implies the involvement of large parts of, or even all, the Muslim community in the process and results, while the latter two consist merely of individual ideas.

2 See A. Mallett, 'Introduction', in A. Mallett (ed.), *Medieval Muslim Historians and the Franks in the Levant* (Leiden, 2014), 1–6, at 6.

3 Anonymous Poet, quoted in Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr waʾl-Qāhira*, ed. M. ʿA. Hātim, 16 vols (Cairo, 1963), 5:151–2; Ibn al-Khayyāṭ (d. in the 1120s), *Dīwān* (Damascus, 1958), 184–6; Poem of al-Abīwardī (d. 1113), quoted in Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fīʾl-taʾrīkh*, ed. C. J. Tornberg, 14 vols (Leiden, 1851–76), vol. X, 192–3. For modern studies, see H. Dajani-Shakeel, 'Jihad in Twelfth-Century Arabic Poetry', *The Muslim World* 66 (1976), 96–113; C. Hillenbrand, 'Jihad Poetry in the Age of the Crusades', in T.F. Madden, J.L. Naus, and V. Ryan (eds), *Crusades: Medieval Worlds in Conflict* (Farnham, 2010), 9–23, at 13; C. Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (Edinburgh, 1999), 69–72; C. Hillenbrand, 'The First Crusade: The Muslim Perspective', in J. Phillips (ed.), *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact* (Manchester, 1997), 130–41, at 137–9; N. Christie, 'Religious Campaign or War of Conquest? Muslim Views of the Motives of the First Crusade', in N. Christie and M. Yazigi (eds), *Noble Ideals and Bloody Realities: Warfare in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2006), 57–72, at 61–3.

4 *Tuḥfat al-mulūk*, in *Du Mujaddid*, ed. N. Pūrjavādī (Tehran, 1381/2002), 345–412, at 407–12; for an introduction to and overview of this text, see A. Mallett, 'A Neglected Piece of Evidence for Early Muslim Reactions to the Frankish Crusader Presence in the Levant: The "Jihad Chapter" from *Tuḥfat al-mulūk*', in D. Pratt et al. (eds), *The Character of Christian–Muslim Encounter* (Leiden, 2015), 96–111.

5 Al-Sulamī, *Kitāb al-jihād*, ed. N. Christie as *The Book of the Jihad of ʿAli ibn Tahir al-Sulami* (Farnham, 2015). There have been dozens of studies of this text; for a complete list of these (up to 2011) see N. Christie, 'ʿAlī ibn Ṭāhir al-Sulamī', in D. Thomas and A. Mallett (eds), *Christian–Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History. Volume 3, 1050–1200* (Leiden, 2011), 307–11, at 310–11.
6 He refers to the Frank's activity as jihad: N. Christie, 'Jerusalem in the *Kitab al-Jihad* of ʿAli ibn Tahir al-Sulami', *Medieval Encounters* 13 (2007), 209–21, at 213; N. Christie and D. Gerish, 'Parallel Preachings: Urban II and al-Sulamī', *al-Masāq* 15 (2003), 139–48, at 141.
7 Christie, 'Jerusalem', 213.
8 Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, 71–3, 107; N. Elisséeff, 'The Reaction of the Syrian Muslims after the Foundation of the First Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem', in M. Shatzmiller (ed.), *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria* (Leiden, 1993), 162–72, at 164; Christie, 'Jerusalem', 217; P. Cheveddon, 'The View of the Crusades from Rome and Damascus. The Geo-Strategic and Historical Perspectives of Pope Urban II and ʿAlī ibn Ṭāhir al-Sulamī', *Oriens* 39 (2011), 257–329, at 291; D. Talmon-Heller, 'Islamic Preaching in Syria during the Counter-Crusade (Twelfth-Thirteenth Centuries)', in I. Shagrir, R. Ellenblum and J. Riley-Smith (eds), *In Laudem Hierosolimitani* (Aldershot, 2007), 61–75, at 65.
9 Elisséeff, 'Reaction', 167; Christie and Gerish, 'Parallel Preachings', 143–6; Christie, 'Jerusalem', 215–19; Cheveddon, 'View of the Crusades', 297–9.
10 Christie, 'Jerusalem', 213.
11 Hillenbrand, 'The Muslim Perspective', 137.
12 Arabic literature, and particularly poetry, had long employed ideas of revenge for wrongs carried out against the community; Hillenbrand, 'Jihad Poetry', 10–12 and 19.
13 Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl taʾrīkh Dimashq*, partial tr. H.A.R. Gibb as *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades* (London, 1932), 111–12; see also A. Mallett, *Popular Muslim Reactions to the Franks in the Levant, 1097–1291* (Farnham, 2014), 34–5; Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, 79; P.M. Cobb, *The Race for Paradise* (Oxford, 2014), 118; N. Christie, *Muslims and Crusaders* (London, 2014), 24.
14 For 'Mirrors for Princes' works see, among others, A. Lambton, 'Islamic Mirrors for Princes', in *La Persia nel Medioevo* (Rome, 1971), 419–42; A. Lambton, 'Islamic Political Thought', in *The Legacy of Islam*, ed. J. Schacht with C.E. Bosworth (Oxford, 1974), 402–24; L. Marlow, 'Advice and Advice Literature', in *EI3*; P. Crone, *Medieval Islamic Political Thought* (Edinburgh, 2005), 148–64.
15 See S.A. Mourad and J.E. Lindsay, *The Intensification and Reorientation of Sunni Jihad Ideology in the Crusader Period* (Leiden, 2013), 33–6.
16 Quoted in Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi'l-taʾrīkh*, tr. D.S. Richards, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for The Crusading Period from al-Kamil fi'l-taʾrikh, Part 1* (Aldershot, 2006), 204–5.
17 See C.-H. de Fouchécour et al., 'Ḳaṣīda', in *EI2*.
18 There are a few exceptions to this general picture, particularly during the account of the siege of Aleppo in 1124–5. When describing this, Ibn al-ʿAdīm is unusually forthright in his criticism of the Franks' actions, which included desecrating Muslim graves around the city and defiling copies of the Quran; see A.-M. Eddé, 'Kamāl al-Dīn ʿUmar Ibn al-ʿAdīm', in A. Mallett (ed.), *Medieval Muslim Historians*, 109–35, at 128.
19 N. Christie, 'The Origins of Suffixed Invocations of God's Curse on the Franks in Muslim Sources for the Crusades', *Arabica* 48 (2001), 254–66, at 255–7.
20 N. Christie, 'Ibn al-Qalānisī', in A. Mallett (ed.), *Medieval Muslim Historians*, 7–28, at 7–10.
21 Mourad and Lindsay, *Intensification and Reorientation of Sunni Jihad Ideology*.
22 L. Richter-Bernburg, 'ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī', in A. Mallett (ed.), *Medieval Muslim Historians*, 29–51, at 46–50.
23 A.-M. Eddé, *Saladin* (Paris, 2008), 89.
24 An important strand of medieval Islamic political thought stated that whoever proved themselves capable of rising to the top was the person who deserved to be there, and

thus became legitimate; see F. Micheau, 'Ibn al-Athīr', in A. Mallett (ed.), *Medieval Muslim Historians*, 52–83, at 81–2.

25 Bahāʾ al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, *al-Nawādir al-Sulṭāniyya wa'l-maḥāsin al-Yūsufiyya*, tr. D.S. Richards as *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin* (Aldershot, 2002); see also Richards' introduction to this, 4–6.

26 ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Fatḥ al-qussī fiʿ l-fatḥ al-qudsī*, ed. C. de Landberg (Leiden, 1888), 25–6.

27 See K. Hirschler, *Medieval Arabic Historiography: Authors as Actors* (London, 2006).

28 A. Mallett, 'Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī', in A. Mallett (ed.), *Medieval Muslim Historians*, 84–108, at 89.

29 For the link between history and politics in general during this period, see T. Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period* (Cambridge, 1994), 182–200; Mallett, 'Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī', 107–8; Micheau, 'Ibn al-Athīr', 76–83; A. Mallett, 'Islamic Historians of the Ayyūbid Era and Muslim Rulers from the Early Crusading Period: A Study in the Use of History', *al-Masāq* 24 (2012), 241–52.

30 Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb fī akhbār Banī Ayyūb*, ed. J. al-Shayyāl, Ḥ. al-Rabīʿ and S. ʿĀshūr, 5 vols (Cairo, 1953–77), vol. IV, 243–5; tr. F. Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades* (London, 1969), pp. 269–73; see also K. Hirschler, 'Ibn Wāṣil', in A. Mallett (ed.), *Medieval Muslim Historians*, 136–60, at 158.

31 Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, 204–11.

32 See O. Latiff, 'Qurʾanic Imagery, Jesus and the Creation of a Pious-Warrior Ethos in the Muslim Poetry of the Anti-Frankish Jihad', in K.V. Jensen, K. Salonen, and H. Vogt (eds), *Cultural Encounters During the Crusades* (Odense, 2013), 135–51.

33 This poem is quoted in A.J. Arberry, *Arabic Poetry* (Cambridge, 1965), 122–5.

34 Hillenbrand, 'Jihad Poetry', 15–17.

35 See 'Ibn ʿUnayn', in *EI2*.

36 Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *al-Rawḍ al-ẓāhir*, ed. A.A. al-Khuwayṭir (Riyadh, 1976) and Shāfi b. ʿAlī, *Ḥusn al-manāqib*, ed. A.A. al-Khuwayṭir (Riyadh, 1976); see Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, 235–7.

37 See Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīkh al-duwal wa'l-mulūk*, partial ed. and tr. U. and M.C Lyons with J. Riley-Smith as *Ayyūbids, Mamlūkes and Crusaders* 2 vols (Cambridge, 1971), vol. I, 3–4 (Arabic); vol. II, 3 (English tr.), *inter alia*. This describes the destruction and desecration of the Holy Sepulchre by the Khwārazmians in 1244.

38 For Christian–Muslim relations in Egypt during this period, see M. Swanson, *The Coptic Papacy in Islamic Egypt* (Cairo, 2010), 97–127.

39 For an introduction to al-Maqrīzī's writings on the Crusades, which has formed the basis for this section, see F. Bauden, 'Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī', in Mallett (ed.), *Medieval Muslim Historians*, 161–200.

40 K. Hirschler, 'The Jerusalem Conquest of 492/1099 in the Medieval Arabic Historiography of the Crusades: From Regional Plurality to Islamic Narrative', *Crusades* 13 (2014), 37–76, at 69, n.97.

41 This is most clearly stated in Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, 592–4.

42 D. Abouali, 'Saladin's Legacy in the Middle East before the Nineteenth Century', *Crusades* 10 (2011), 175–89, at 182.

43 Abouali, 'Saladin's Legacy', 179–80.

44 B. Lewis, The Muslim Discovery of Europe (London, 1982), 164–6; Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, 591.

45 J. Phillips, 'Before the Kaiser: The Memory of Saladin and the Crusades in the Near East from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries', available online at http://pure.rhul.ac.uk/portal/files/17993420/Phillips_Before_the_Kaiser_10.11.13.pdf (accessed 8 September 2015).

46 Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, 263–7.

47 M.C. Lyons, *The Arabian Epic. Heroic and Oral Storytelling* (Cambridge, 1995); M.C. Lyons, 'The Crusading Stratum in the Arabic Hero Cycles', in M. Shatzmiller (ed.), *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria* (Leiden, 1993), 147–61; Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, 265–6, 273.

48 This is particularly clear in the *Sīrat al-Ẓāhir Baibars*; see M.C. Lyons, *The Arabian Epic*, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1995), vol. III, 77–236.

49 Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, 592.
50 S.A. al-Hariri, *al-Akhbār al-saniyya fi'l-ḥurūb al-ṣalibiyya* (Cairo, 1899); cf. Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, 592.
51 Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, 600, 605–9.
52 Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, 600–2.
53 See, among others, S. Taji-Farouki, Hizb al-Tahrir *and the Search for the Islamic Caliphate* (London, 1996).
54 Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, 602–5.
55 Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, 605.
56 Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, 609–11.
57 Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, 595.
58 Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, 595–600.
59 M. Determann, 'The Crusades in Arab School Textbooks', *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 19 (2008), 199–214.
60 Determann, 'Crusades in Arab School Textbooks', p. 211.
61 Determann's analysis did not include textbooks from Iraq.

Further reading

D. Abouali, 'Saladin's Legacy in the Middle East before the Nineteenth Century', *Crusades* 10 (2011), 175–89.
N. Christie (ed.), *The Book of the Jihad of ʿAli ibn Tahir al-Sulami* (Farnham, 2015).
N. Christie, 'The Origins of Suffixed Invocations of God's Curse on the Franks in Muslim Sources for the Crusades', *Arabica* 48 (2001), 254–66.
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C. Hillenbrand, 'Jihad Poetry in the Age of the Crusades', in T.F. Madden, J.L. Naus and V. Ryan (eds), *Crusades: Medieval Worlds in Conflict* (Farnham, 2010), 9–23.
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A. Mallett (ed.), *Medieval Muslim Historians and the Franks in the Levant* (Leiden, 2014).
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15

APPROPRIATING HISTORY

Remembering the Crusades in Latvia and Estonia

Carsten Selch Jensen

In 2005 Swedish medievalist Sven Ekdahl presented an overview of the historiography of the Crusades and the processes of colonization in the Baltic from the age of Enlightenment until around 2000, saying 'Historical research is never independent; as a humanistic science it is not capable of obtaining absolute "truth". Each historian has a starting point in his or her own political, religious, social and cultural millieux, which each either follows or escapes'.[1] His statement recognized the multilayered approaches to and appropriation of the medieval Crusades in the Baltic Region by scholars and ordinary persons alike in various historical and national milieus within the past three centuries. Acknowledging this fundamental truth, this chapter presents some examples of how the Baltic Crusades have been appropriated by different milieux in what are now the independent nations of Latvia and Estonia covering the centuries from around 1700 until the present day. It is hardly a surprise that the history of the Crusades has in fact had a profound impact on the construction of specific national narratives within these two nations during the last 300 years. In fact the appropriation of the crusading past proved itself to be a very powerful tool in the creation of specific new national (and even nationalistic) identities especially in times of national crises as will be seen in this chapter.

The neighbouring countries of Lithuania, Russia and Finland are only occasionally included in this chapter due to their slightly different national histories and the somewhat different interpretation of the Crusades in their own national narratives. For convenience pre-1918 Latvia is referred to by its medieval name 'Livonia', covering a land slightly bigger than the present-day state.[2]

The Crusades in the Baltic Sea-Region: a short historical overview

Shortly after the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 by the first crusaders, the very first evidence of the adaption of ideas of penitential holy war against the enemies of

Christendom is found in the Baltic Sea-Region. In 1108 an appeal was issued from the Archbishopric of Magdeburg arguing for the need for a crusade against the pagan Wends living just across the borders to the northeast. Even if no crusade came out of this particular appeal it does, however, prove that the new ideas of crusading were quick to spread among the secular and ecclesiastical powers of the Baltic Sea-Region. During the following decades Saxon and Danish noblemen campaigned against the pagan Wends trying very hard to force them into submission, make them pay taxes and even to some extent accept Christianity. Other campaigns were launched from Poland together with genuine missionary enterprises aimed at other pagan tribes along the southern coasts of the Baltic Sea.[3]

The first official Crusades in the Baltic, however, had to wait until 1147 following the summoning of Pope Eugenius III in 1145 of the so-called Second Crusade to the Holy Land. During a preaching campaign in Germany in 1146–7 the Cistercian Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux was persuaded by Saxon noblemen to accept a crusade against the pagan Wends. Pope Eugenius, after having conferred with Bernard, issues a second crusader bull, *Divini Dispensatine*, in April 1147 thereby officially proclaiming a crusade against the Wends.[4] For the next 25 years or so Crusades were launched against these people culminating in the conquest of the important stronghold of Arkona by the Danish King Valdemar I and Archbishop Absalon in 1168.[5]

At roughly the same time, crusaders from Scandinavia turned their attention further east launching military campaigns against both Finland and Estonia. Whereas Finland became the main focus of a Swedish conquest the Danes eventually concentrated on Estonia, initiating a number of lesser campaigns in the 1180s and 1190s. In the 1184 the first German missionaries began their work among the indigenous people of what from then on became known as Livonia. The first recorded German crusade took place in 1199 and was followed by endless numbers of annual campaigns directed first against the Livonian people and later also the Estonians. At the beginning of the thirteenth century German, Danish and Swedish crusaders each struggled to gain supremacy in Livonia and Estonia, with the Germans and the Danes being the main contestants. By 1230 the local people formally (if not in reality) had been converted to Christianity. The Danes had established themselves firmly in the northern part of Estonia around Reval (modern Tallinn) with the Germans controlling Livonia from Riga.[6]

Poland continued its campaigns against its pagan Prussian neighbours to the north. In the 1220s, the Polish Duke Conrad of Mazovia invited the Teutonic Knights to help him defend his northern borders. The Order began its military campaigns north of the river Vistula around 1230 and in 1283 it controlled most of what was then known as Prussia. In 1309 the Order relocated its headquarters to Marienburg (modern Malbork, Poland) following the expulsion from the Holy Land in 1291. By 1309 the Order had become the single most powerful military institution in the entire region with permanent and highly skilled military forces at its disposal located in a number of strong castles. In 1237 the Order had established itself also in Livonia when it took over the land and the castles of the Sword Brethren, a small local Order founded by German clerics in 1201.[7]

The German expansion in Livonia soon resulted in conflict with the orthodox Russian principalities to the east – a conflict that continued also after the Teutonic Knights had become the dominant power in Livonia and Estonia in the second part of the thirteenth century. In 1346 the Order purchased the Danish part of Estonia from the Danish King IV Atterdag and could now concentrate on its annual campaigns against the pagan Lithuanians.[8] A severe defeat in 1410 – the Battle of Tannenberg – saw the defeat of the Teutonic Knights by the superior forces of a united (and Christian) Poland-Lithuania. This severely weakened the Order, but it held out until 1525 when the last Prussian Grand Master converted to Protestantism transforming the Prussian branch of the Order into a hereditary duchy within Poland. In Livonia the Teutonic Order existed for another couple of generations until 1562 when it also became secularized.[9]

Obviously, the impact of the Crusades and the various campaigns of conquest and Christianization differed considerably from one region to another. In Prussia massive numbers of German settlers came to the newly conquered territories eventually constituting nearly half of the entire population with the native Prussians becoming more or less 'Germanized'.[10] In Lithuania, Estonia and Livonia, the situation was very different. Through alliances with Poland, Lithuania never became occupied by western crusaders. In Livonia and Estonia on the other hand only very few foreign peasants came to settle the lands during the Middle Ages. The ethnic Livonians and Estonians thus dominated the rural areas and were left more or less with their own languages and cultural habits in the hands of a strong Baltic-German elite.[11]

Baltic Enlightenment: an initial critique of the Crusades and the beginning of 'national' narratives

The philosophical reorientation of the Enlightenment in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Europe also involved a revaluation of the Crusades as an essential part of the general European history. Some historians viewed the Crusades quite straightforwardly as historical events that did not require any moral judgments. Some even made a strong connection between medieval chivalry and the Crusades as the sign of the superior moral values of the Europeans compared to other people. Other scholars, however, were quite critical of the overall crusading enterprise, seeing it as an archetypical phenomenon of a rather irrational period in European history – a truly 'Dark Age' – dominated by unsound religious ideas. David Hume (1711–76) even went as far as to characterize the Crusades as 'the most durable monument of human folly that has yet appeared in any age or nation', whereas others simply referred to the 'madness of the crusades'.[12] Along similar lines the period also witnessed a rather harsh judgment of the Teutonic Knights who were criticized for their apparent lust for land and wealth and the Order's alleged cruelties towards the native peoples through brutal military campaigns that was only scarcely covered with a thin layer of Christendom.[13] Thus European Enlightenment in general did not have much positive to say about the medieval Crusades. The promotion of new scholarly ideals however would pave the way for the development of historical

research as a science. In that respect, it became a dictum that the history of the past had to be constructed from available sources, which came to include also the history of the Baltic Crusades.[14]

Following the Great Northern War 1700–21 Estonia and Livonia both became part of the Russian Empire that had conquered these lands from Sweden.[15] In this new situation the Baltic-German nobility in Estonia and Latvia obtained quite a remarkable degree of autonomy allowing them to reestablish their identity as a ruling elite referring to the Crusades as their 'foundational narrative'. For example they created very exclusive registers (the so-called *Matrikeln*) numbering the few hundred 'genuine' noble families of German origin.[16] This sudden interest in the medieval past and the Crusades obviously had to do with its manifest usefulness in the creation of a special Baltic-German 'national' identity among the ruling elite. Apart from legitimizing their present power the ruling families also attempted to solve important social and political discussions through the use of historical examples: for example the heated debates among the landowning nobility about the abolition or reforming of the serfdom of the local peasantry. This debate took many of its arguments (*pro et contra*) from the Crusades as it was believed that serfdom (i.e. slavery) had been introduced into the Baltic by the crusaders and as such could be deemed justifiably. Following this debate one contemporary text even claimed that Livonia was 'the heaven of the nobility, the paradise of the clergy, the gold mine of the foreigners, and the hell of the peasants'.[17]

Apart from these social issues an underplayed critique of contemporary Christianity and its representatives among the local clergymen also found its way into the debate in Estonia and Livonia. Baltic-German representatives of the Livonian Enlightenment argued that the sources testified to a certain religious purity among the medieval native people accentuating and praising their pre-Christian 'natural religion' as superior to contemporary (or at least Catholic) Christendom. At the same time, they also emphasized the moral qualities of these indigenous people.[18]

One source in particular became important to this discourse on a pre-Christian golden era in Livonia and Estonia prior to the Crusades, the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia completed in 1227.[19] An early edition of this text was published in 1740.[20] Baltic-German historians saw in Henry's chronicle not only the coming of their German ancestors, but also remnants of a pre-Christian society that came to represent a sort of idealized era before the arrival of the first crusaders and colonists. Based on some rather vague references in Henry's text it was for example claimed that the pre-crusader Estonian society had had a kind of proto-parliament allowing the local leaders to voice their opinions in important matters. This came to an abrupt end with the arrival of the crusaders despite the fierce and heroic resistance of the local people. According to these historians of the Livonian Enlightenment it was now the task of the ruling elite to reestablish this idealized era, even if the landowning German-Baltic families seem to have been more concerned with keeping their peasants in serfdom than in giving them back their freedom![21]

Continual Baltic-German interpretations of the Crusades in early nineteenth century

The use of medieval texts – especially the crusading-chronicle of Henry of Livonia – became even more important in the following century. Generally among German historians of the mid-nineteenth century, the perception of the Crusades together with the coming of the Teutonic Knights to the Baltic Sea-Region was founded on a so-called 'culture-carrier theory' essential to the German Romanticism. In this tradition the Middle Ages became the most important period in history as the foundational epoch *per se* of the German nation. As such the crusaders and the Teutonic Order were once again brought forth as the founders not only of the Prussian state but also as the forefathers of the Baltic-German elite very much like the previous century's historiography.[22] The crusaders and the Teutonic Knights were now praised for bringing German culture to these remote regions thus accentuating the superiority of German civilization to any of the local peoples, thereby downplaying the former notion of a pre-crusader idealized era. This was quite obvious in Prussia due to the abovementioned 'Germanization' of the local people. In the Estonia and Livonia the situation was slightly different and required more work in the creation of a genuine Baltic-German narrative in line with the general trends of the national German Romanticism. As a Russian province with a numerically small German-speaking elite the Baltic-German historians had to accept that German culture had never achieved the same dominance here as in Prussia due to the large proportion of native Estonians and Livonians (especially in the countryside).[23] This fact, however, sparked the beginning of a proper historical tradition in scholarly research and writing among Baltic-German historians in the middle of the century in their quest for renewed national narratives. In this they more or less treated the Livonians and the Estonians as people without a history of their own, much contrary to the Enlightenment historians, who had idealized the pre-crusader societies.[24] Thus during the German Romanticism in Livonia and Estonia the former critique of the Crusades was almost totally abandoned among the Baltic-German scholars.[25] Instead, they concentrated on the establishment of a national canon of valued texts that could be used in their reconstruction of a German past, legitimizing once again the current position of the Baltic-German elite. An important discovery in 1862 of the oldest nearly complete manuscript of the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia – the so-called *Codex Zamoscianus* – paved the way for yet more concentration on this exceptional source. Following a new edition of the chronicle in 1874 it was published in *Monumenta Germaniae Historicae* and thus became accepted not only as a part of a specific Baltic-German past, but as a part of the entire German past. This interest in medieval history did not restrict itself to written sources. A profound interest in the restoration of medieval ruins as well as a spread of historicist architecture followed the general attempt to construct a proper Germanized past by leading Baltic-German historians.[26] The dramatic copperplate engravings of the Baltic-German artist Friedrich Ludwig von Maydell titled 'Fifty Pictures from the German Baltic Provinces of Russia' from 1839 and 1840 is also

part of this canonization the medieval German Crusades among the Baltic-German community in the nineteenth century. His engravings depict a much romanticized version of the heroic efforts of the German crusaders to defeat paganism, proposing instead a superior Christian way of life.[27]

The crusader past thus became the very tool by which a renewed Baltic-German identity came into being in the middle of the nineteenth century. This particular Baltic-German nationalistic history-writing was not uncontested for very long, however, since new nationalistic movements among the ethnic Livonians and Estonians made themselves felt in the second part of the nineteenth century striving to reconquer their historical past. These people were inspired by a general rise of nationalism throughout Europe. They did, however, also gain momentum by a remarkable bettering of the socio-economic conditions among the majority of the Livonians and the Estonians during this period.[28]

National awakening among ethnic Estonians and Livonians in the late nineteenth century

With inspiration from a general European nationalism ethnic Livonians and Estonian historians challenged the Germanized national narratives of the Baltic-German elite. By picking up some of the core ideas from the Livonian Enlightenment they argued fiercely against some of the main elements in the established national narratives by questioning, for example, the Crusades as something positive that had brought progress to the region. They also questioned the religiosity of the crusaders as something that could legitimize the submission of the indigenous people, forcing them to accept a foreign culture and a foreign religion. Instead they wanted to create new nationalistic narratives that rehabilitated the role of the Baltic people as actors in a history of their own: it was their story, and not the story of their oppressors, that had to be told as the proper national narratives in Livonia and Estonia.[29]

The critical approach towards the Crusades from Enlightenment scholars also enabled the creation of new Livonian and Estonian national narratives that still took their main inspiration from important medieval sources such as Henry of Livonia. The new narratives, however, became a sort of anti-history in comparison to the former Baltic-German narratives. Obviously they questioned the legitimacy of the Crusades and the work of the missionaries. They had in the minds of these historians brought nothing but centuries of oppression and slavery to the region by destroying what was believed to have been a pre-Christian (and pre-crusading) 'golden era' of freedom and independency. In 1868 a prominent and rather radical Estonian nationalist, Carl Robert Jacobsen (1841–82), simplistically formulated that Estonian history compromised only three periods: 'the light of ancient freedom, the darkness of slavery and the present age of dawn'. In this respect, it is hardly surprising that one of his speeches was titled 'The Age of Light, Darkness and Dawn of the Estonian People'.[30] This simplified but powerful historical template came to dominate Estonian as well as Livonian historiography in its various disguises right until very recent times. It clearly underlined a generally accepted idea of Estonian

and Livonian independency prior to the Crusades which had then been followed by centuries of foreign oppression from the sides of either Germans, Scandinavians or Russians until a new period of independence and freedom was about to dawn.[31]

Like the scholars of Enlightenment the new nationalistic historians in Livonia and Estonia also prized the natural religion of their ancestors, unspoiled by the coming of Catholic Christendom: quite a lot of these new historians were either schoolteachers or trained Lutheran pastors, thus quite aware of their Lutheran heritage! They also hailed the highly organized state-like societies of their forefathers which they claimed had been destroyed by the ruthless crusaders from the West. The question about a pre-Christian natural religion became an especially important element in the disputes between the Livonian and Estonian historians and their Baltic-German counterparts. Some rejected any Christian influence before the Crusades altogether – Catholic Christendom was to them purely a tool of oppression. Other Livonian and Estonian scholars claimed instead that the Baltic people had in fact encountered Christianity well before the arrival of the first crusaders, namely through peaceful mission activities from the side of the orthodox Russian Church. Thus the (superior) moral value of Christianity was known and perhaps even appropriated by the ingenious people in the easternmost parts of Estonia and Livonia well before they became forced into a German-Scandinavian cultural and religious hegemony around 1200 dominated by Catholic Christendom.[32] This particular narrative relied on an early Baltic-Russian idea of a shared past and community as opposed to the Western infringement of the region from the Middle Ages onwards. It is interesting to notice that this particular construction of a former alliance between the Balts and the Russians for obvious reasons became very dominant in a common historiography of the Crusades during the Soviet occupation of the Baltic States from 1940 onwards.[33]

Another point of disagreement between the Livonian and Estonian historians and their Baltic-German counterparts related to more specific questions in the medieval source material, especially the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia, for example the ethnicity of Henry himself. As mentioned above this particular chronicle had been accepted as more or less the 'Ur-text' during the Baltic-German Romanticism testifying to the fundamental idea of a German cultural and religious superiority as opposed to the local people. As such this text became a cornerstone in the creation of a Baltic-German identity. To these scholars it was quite obvious that Henry had to be a German by birth thus representing the superior German culture of the crusaders and missionaries. To the ethnic Livonian (or rather Latvian) historians the question looked rather different.[34] Many of these scholars argued against using any 'alien' documents in the process of reconstructing a plausibly national past – and by alien document they meant all texts produced by their (German or Scandinavian) oppressors, since these text were believed to represent foreign contents that ran counter to the new national narratives. One way to 'purify' the reconstruction processes of the national narrative was to entirely avoid any such text leaving only local collections of folkloristic texts and archaeological material as acceptable source material.[35] Other scholars, however, sought to 'reconquer' Henry's text for a national

purpose by claiming, for example, that the author was not German but rather Latvian by birth. The proof hereof they found in the chronicle itself referring to Henry as *Henricus de Lettis*.[36] Even so, they had to admit that even if Henry 'ein gebürtiger Lette gewesen wäre, entpuppte er sich als völliger Deutscher und ein wuchtiger, eifriger Verbreiter des katholischer Glaubens'. Still they could claim that being a local person Henry had been well educated, reaching a scholarly level equal to the foreign conquerors.[37]

Other parts of Henry's chronicle also led to debate, for example the character of the Livonian Chieftain Caupo. According to Henry he converted quite early to Christendom and died as a highly praised and very pious defender of the Livonian Church.[38] Quite clearly Henry considered him a champion of faith and the prototype of a perfect 'pagan-cum-convert' siding with the German crusaders and missionaries. As such he was also hailed by the Baltic-German historians who saw in him a true hero of the crusading period who quite willingly sided with the Germans against his former pagan allies. The Livonian historians on their side considered Caupo much less of a hero. Rather he was labelled a traitor and one of the first renegades who betrayed the noble cause of his fellow peoples to side with foreign oppressors.[39] By contrast other characters from the chronicle were emphasized by later generations of Baltic scholars and in popular culture as proper heroes of this ancient fight for freedom and independence. In both cases, however, the discussions were rooted in the readings of the same medieval (crusader) texts being at the basis of all the various national narratives.

The history of the Crusades and the period of national independence 1919–40

Following the turmoil of the First World War the opportunity for national independence suddenly materialized in both Livonia and Estonia. The collapse of Tsarist Russia and the revolutionaries' seizure of power in 1917 together with the overall German defeat in 1918 enabled both lands to declare their independence. Similar situations arose in both Lithuania and Finland and all four nations became embroiled in bloody (civil) wars from 1917 until well into the 1920s.[40]

During the so-called War of Independence 1918–20 both Latvia and Estonia turned once again to their crusader past in their quest for freedom. The main enemies apart from local revolutionaries were Russian Bolsheviks and forces from the Baltic-German Landwehr together with German volunteer troops (for example the so-called 'Iron Division').[41] In this situation the allusions to a crusader past were all too obvious for the Latvians and Estonians, threatened as they were from both East and West. The ancient fight for freedom against the crusaders was revived in this renewed (or rather 'continued') struggle for freedom and independency by the national armies of both Latvia and Estonia. In this context it is interesting to notice that also foreign powers saw these references to a medieval crusader past. For instance, some 200 Danish volunteers went to Estonia in 1919 to help fight the Bolsheviks. Coincidently 1919 marked the seven-hundredth anniversary of

the Danish King Valdemar II's crusade against the northern provinces of Estonia (June 1219) where God allegedly had showed his support to the Danish crusaders by letting the Danish national flag 'Dannebrog' descend from heaven in the midst of a very ferocious battle between the crusaders and the pagan Estonians. The Danish volunteers of 1919 were quite conscious of this and the fact that Dannebrog once again was carried into battle in Estonia fighting un-Christian savagery – this time, however, not pagan Estonians but the even more brutal and uncivilized Bolsheviks![42]

Like the Danish volunteers the Latvians and Estonians also sought inspiration in the ancient fight against the German crusaders for their national re-awakening. To them, however, the memory of the Crusades was quite different from the Danes' in as much as it allegedly had marked the beginning of a '700-year night of slavery' and the start of 'The Great Battle for Freedom'.[43] In this context, the Crusades now 'became symbolically associated with heroic resistance rather than defeat'.[44] Both nations therefore sought out new heroes in the ancient texts. As mentioned above the chieftain Caupo was too dubious a person to be used as a role model in this actualized fight for freedom. Another character from the medieval texts suited the purpose much better, namely the Estonian chieftain Lembitu from the province of Sakkala, who is mentioned several times in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia. He is described as one of the heroic opponents of the foreign (that is the German-Scandinavian) conquest during the Crusades. As such he fitted the purpose perfectly, and during the fighting of 1918–20 Lembitu's name was given to one Estonian gunboat and several armored cars, bringing quite literally an ancient hero into the renewed fight for independence. Ironically, Lembitu was killed in the same battles as Caupo on St. Matthew's Day (21 September) 1217, when the crusaders and their Latvian allies defeated the Estonians.[45]

The battles fought during the War of Independence also became associated with famous battles of the medieval past especially among the Estonians. One such example is the above-mentioned battle of St. Matthew's Day. Another incident was the so-called St. George's Night uprising in 1343 when an Estonian insurgency was brutally quelled by the Teutonic Knights. These two incidents together with later revolts during the Tsarist period (all lost battles) now became associated with the current fight against both the Bolsheviks and the German forces. The victory of the Estonians in 1919 during the Battle of Cesis when they completely routed a strong German force became especially essential in this 'narrative of battles lost and won' and became commemorated as such in national narratives and on important feast-days.[46]

The Latvians were especially challenged by the fact that the medieval sources seemed to indicate that they (that is the Livish people of medieval Livonia) were the first to yield to the German crusaders around 1200 following a relatively brief period of resistance.[47] That was not an ideal situation when the young nation needed inspiration for its renewed fight for independence and freedom. Therefore the Latvians started to identify themselves with the much more persistent fight of the Semgallians against the foreign crusaders. These people allegedly kept on

resisting the conquest of their lands until late in the thirteenth century and only succumbed to the furious attacks of the Teutonic Knights in the 1290s.[48]

The national armies of Latvia and Estonia were not the only ones to reach into the crusaders' past to get inspiration for this fight for freedom during the years of 1918–20. Some of the Latvian Bolshevik volunteers for example formed their own 'Regiment of Ymanta', referring to another Levish chieftain mentioned by Henry of Livonia. Contrary to Caupo, Ymanta had not sided with the German crusaders and was therefore an obvious choice for a national (or Bolshevik) hero during the war – even among the 'Reds'.[49]

The Crusades in Nazi ideology and during the Soviet occupation of Latvia and Estonia

National independency became rather short-lived for both Latvia and Estonia. During the Second World War both countries were invaded in turn by Soviet forces (1940 and 1944) and Nazi Germany (1941) turning the entire region into a much contested and extremely bloody battleground.[50]

In late 1940 the Red Army invaded both Latvia and Estonia, installing puppet governments in both countries repressing any form of national sentiments. Soon followed also mass deportations with 10,000 people from Estonia and 15,000 from Latvia being transported to Siberia accused of 'counterrevolutionary activity'.[51] The initial Soviet occupation, however, was to last less than a year. Following the surprise attack of 22 June 1941 the German army quickly reached the territories of Latvia and Estonia driving before them the fleeing Red Army forces. A local band of partisans also attacked the retreating Soviet forces believing that they were once again fighting for the freedom of their home-countries. The Germans, however, had no intention of restoring Latvian or Estonian independence. Both countries together with Lithuania and most of Belarus became part of the so-called *Reichskommisariat Ostland* with a *Reichskommissar* in Riga. Soon the terror-regime of the Soviet occupation was replaced with an equally brutal German subjugation.[52]

Nazi ideology adhered to the old 'culture-carrier theory' once again emphasizing German (or rather Germanic) superiority over the Slavic people in the east.[53] It was therefore quite obvious that the Crusades and especially the Teutonic Knights could be used for propagandistic purposes by the Nazi regime. Himmler, for example, considered the SS to be some sort of a reincarnation of the former Knightly Brethren destined to become leaders of a new Aryan master race. Some even interpreted the German victories early in the war as the fulfillment of the conquest that had begun during the Crusades: it is hardly a coincidence that the German attack on the Soviet was named 'Operation Barbarossa' after Emperor Frederik Barbarossa who died on crusade in 1190.[54]

Communist sympathizers among Latvian and Estonian historians interpreted the crusader past rather differently, or at least emphasized certain aspects of the Crusades in a different way from the ways of the Nazis. Based once again on a source like Henry of Livonia these scholars promulgated the idea of a century-long friendship

between the Baltic people and the Russians, a friendship that had once united them in a mutual fight against German crusaders, and now would unite them once again in this (final) fight against Nazism that once and for all would end the 'crusades'.[55] They also once again emphasized the medieval heroes who had not sided with the foreign crusaders and thus could be used as role models in this continued fight for freedom and anti-fascism.[56]

Following the end of the Second World War and the nearly 50-year Soviet occupation of both Latvia and Estonia this specific interpretation of the medieval Crusades was consolidated by a Soviet controlled historiography. The local peoples (peasants and ordinary workers) were understood to fight for freedom against the foreign crusaders whose oppressive materialism and false religious beliefs were at the forefront in this historiographical tradition.[57] Latvian and Estonian historians furthermore concentrated on studies of the local medieval feudal repressive societies, emphasizing also here any local attempts to rebel against the ruling elite. This inevitably turned the medieval Crusades into an account of classical Marxist class struggle emphasizing also here the century-long Baltic–Russian friendship allegedly dating back to the Middle Ages.[58] Thus, as one scholar has remarked, a 'national' historical view was permitted only if it did not upset this picture of Russia as hero.[59]

Retelling the history of the Crusades after 1990: some concluding remarks

Following the sentiments from the time of the 'War of Independence' (1918–20) claiming Latvian and Estonian national history to be a '700-year night of slavery', the Soviet reoccupation of both countries following the end of the Second World War postponed this dark night even further. Only in 1991 did Latvia and Estonia regain their independence followed three months later by the dissolution of the former Soviet Union.[60] National freedom has once again aroused an interest in the early history of both nations. Some of the old debates on the Crusades and the pre-Christian societies did reemerge – especially within a broader public national setting emphasizing once again 'the idea of restoration' as the main national narrative. Symbolically references to an ancient fight for freedom made sense in these milieux. Especially in Estonia the situation was quite unique in as much as almost all the leading politicians, including the president and the prime minister, were historians by profession, thus marking the country as 'The Republic of Historians'.[61]

A less romanticized and quite different approach to a crusader past has been taken up by new generations of professional Latvian and Estonian historians. Their work has pointed the research in new rewarding directions, viewing, for example, the history of both countries as being in line with the broader historical developments of Europe both in the Middle Ages and later. From this perspective the Crusades are seen as part of historical occurrences that eventually would interweave both Latvia and Estonia into an overall European history. This dramatically underplays the exceptionality of Baltic Crusades.[62] In line with these new methodological approaches some of the central actors of the medieval past have been reevaluated

in this broader context in line with their assumed motives. Recent research, for example, has reinterpreted the importance of religion as a motivating factor among the crusaders of the Middle Ages no longer discarding religion as purely a mask for greed and lust for power.[63] Furthermore former anti-heroes are now being viewed not as collaborators or enemies of their own people, but rather as pioneers in the making of a new world. One such example is Caupo who can be viewed now as a visionary man who wanted to create strong bonds between his own people and the Western crusaders. In this way he even, to some, has become 'the symbol of European integration and the object lesson of Euro-skepticism'.[64] Thus in recent years a history of the '700-year night of slavery' has been turned into a history of 'Europeanization' based once again on the continued appropriation of the history of the Crusades.

Notes

1 Sven Ekdahl, 'Crusades and Colonization in the Baltic', in *Palgrave Advances in the Crusades*, ed. Helen Nicholson (New York: Palgrave, 2005), 172–203, here 194.
2 For a very useful and well-written historical overview of the history of the Baltic Region, please see Andres Kasekamp, *A History of the Baltic States* (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2010).
3 Ane L. Bysted, Carsten Selch Jensen, Kurt Villads Jensen and John H. Lind, *Jerusalem in the North: Denmark and the Baltic Crusades, 1100–1522*, vol. 1 of *Outremer: Studies in the Crusades and the Latin East* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 29.
4 Bysted et al., *Jerusalem in the North*, 45–6.
5 Bysted et al., *Jerusalem in the North*, 66–76. A discussion of the exact dating of this important event is found on p. 70.
6 Bysted et al., *Jerusalem in the North*, 157–85.
7 Bysted et al., *Jerusalem in the North*, 227–42, 244–8 and 269–72.
8 Ekdahl, 'Crusades and Colonization in the Baltic', 175.
9 Kasekamp, *A History of the Baltic States*, 42; Ekdahl, 'Crusades and Colonization in the Baltic', 176.
10 Ekdahl, 'Crusades and Colonization in the Baltic', 176–8 and 183. Ekdahl states that the Prussian language became extinct in the seventeenth century.
11 Kasekamp, *A History of the Baltic States*, 31–2; Ekdahl, 'Crusades and Colonization in the Baltic', 176. The term '*ethnic*' is of course problematic as one could rightly argue that the Baltic-German noble families who could often trace their lineage hundreds of year back also could be considered '*ethnic*'. In this chapter, however, I use the term out of convenience to differentiate between the Baltic-Germans and the descendants of the indigenous (pre-crusader) people of Latvia and Estonia. This is in line with the usage by Baltic scholars, see for example Mart Kuldkepp, 'The Scandinavian Connection in Early Estonian Nationalism', *Journal of Baltic Studies* 44:3 (2013), 313–38, here 314; Heiko Pääbo, 'Constructing Historical Space: Estonia's Transition from the Russian Civilization to the Baltic Sea Region', *Journal of Baltic Studies* 45:2 (2014), 187–205, here 187.
12 For a recent account of the Crusades in the European Enlightenment, see Christopher Tyerman, *The Debate on the Crusades* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 67–94, from which the quotes in the text are taken, pp. 79 and 81.
13 Ekdahl, 'Crusades and Colonization in the Baltic', 177.
14 Linda Kaljundi with the collaboration of Kaspars Klavins, 'The Chronicler and the Modern World: Henry of Livonia and the Baltic Crusades in the Enlightenment and National Traditions', in *Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier*, ed. Marek Tamm, Linda Kaljundi and Carsten Selch Jensen (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 409–56, here especially 411.

15 It is noteworthy that many Estonians and Latvians later on argued rather pro-Swedish, referring to the Swedish period as 'something of a dawn before the real time of the dawn', cf. Kuldkepp, 'The Scandinavian Connection', 325 and 322–3.
16 Kasekamp, *A History of the Baltic States*, 55–6.
17 Kasekamp, *A History of the Baltic States*, 57; Kaljundi and Klavins, 'The Chronicler and the Modern World', 411–12.
18 Kaljundi and Klavins, 'The Chronicler and the Modern World', 411–12.
19 Marek Tamm, Linda Kaljundi and Carsten Selch Jensen, Preface, in *Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier*, ed. Marek Tamm, Linda Kaljundi and Carsten Selch Jensen (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), xvii–xxv, here xviii.
20 Stefan Donecker, 'The *Chronicon Livoniae* in Early Modern Scholarship: From Humanist Recceptions to the Gruber Edition of 1740', in *Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier*, ed. Marek Tamm, Linda Kaljundi and Carsten Selch Jensen (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 363–84, here 363. As mentioned by Donecker, a translation into German by a Baltic-German schoolmaster from Arensburg (Est. Kuressaare) appeared only seven years later making the text readily available to a German-speaking audience.
21 Kaljundi and Klavins, 'The Chronicler and the Modern World', 413–14. The specific paragraph in Henry of Livonia's chronicle is found in HCL XX, 2, referring to a certain place in the Estonian province of Harrien where the Estonians are said to have gathered to decide common matters. All references to the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia (henceforth HCL) is to *Heinrichi Chronicon Livoniae*, MGH Scriptores, separatim editi 31, eds. Leonid Arbusow and Albert Bauer (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1955). For an English translation, please see *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia.* Translated with a new introduction and notes by James A. Brundage (New York: Colombia University Press, 1961). A new edition with revised introduction was published in 2003.
22 Ekdahl, 'Crusades and Colonization in the Baltic', 178.
23 Ekdahl, 'Crusades and Colonization in the Baltic', 178 and 183.
24 Jüri Kivimäe, 'Re-writing Estonian History', *Studia Fennica Ethnologica* 6 (1999), 205–12, here 208 and 210. See also Jörg Hackmann, '"Historians as Nation-Builders". Historiographie und Nation en Estland von Hans Kruus bis Mart Laar', in *Beruf und Berufung. Geschichtswissenschaft und Nationsbildung in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Markus Krzoska and Hans-Christian Maner (Münster: LIT Verlag 2005), 125–42, here 130 and 136.
25 Kaljundi and Klavins, 'The Chronicler and the Modern World', 417.
26 Kaljundi and Klavins, 'The Chronicler and the Modern World', 418.
27 Kaljundi and Klavins, 'The Chronicler and the Modern World', 419 and 422; Kuldkepp, 'The Scandinavian Connection', 322.
28 Kaljundi and Klavins, 'The Chronicler and the Modern World', 423; Kasekamp, *A History of the Baltic States*, 76–82.
29 See, for example, Pääbo, 'Constructing Historical Space', 187–8.
30 Kaljundi and Klavins, 'The Chronicler and the Modern World', 425; Marek Tamm, 'History as Cultural Memory: Mnemohistory and the Construction of the Estonian Nation', *Journal of Baltic Studies* 39:4 (2008), 449–516, here 503; Kivimäe, 'Re-writing Estonian History', 208; Kuldkepp, 'The Scandinavian Connection', 325.
31 Tamm, 'History as Cultural Memory', 505; Kaljundi and Klavins, 'The Chronicler and the Modern World', 425. It is worth noting that the Swedish 'occupation' as previously mentioned was considered something of a positive period compared to the German, Danish and Russian periods of occupation. During a later orientation towards Scandinavia among the Estonians and Latvians, Denmark seems to have been somewhat marginalized for the same reason. The Danes, however, harboured rather strong feelings, especially towards Estonia as will be seen in a later paragraph referring to the relatively high number of Danish volunteers fighting in Estonia during the so-called 'War of Independence'; Kuldkepp, 'The Scandinavian Connection', 321.
32 Ilgvars Misans, '"Wir waren immer ein Kriegervolk". Die Darstellung der Ostbaltischen Kreuzzüge in der lettischen Geschichtsschreibung', in *Lippe und Livland. Mittelalterliche*

Herschaftsbildung im Zeichen der Rose, ed. Jutta Prieur (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2008), 185–207, here 187.

33 Other Latvian and Estonian historians were quite skeptical towards a Russian influence as they clearly felt socially put down compared to the Baltic-German elite by the Russian authorities; see Kaljundi and Klavins, 'The Chronicler and the Modern World', 426.

34 For obvious reasons Estonian historians never seem to have been that preoccupied with the ethnicity of Henry: it was rather a discussion between German and Latvian historians; Kaljundi and Klavins, 'The Chronicler and the Modern World', 450.

35 Kaljundi and Klavins, 'The Chronicler and the Modern World', 428–9.

36 HCL XVI, 3; Misans, 'Wir waren immer ein Kriegervolk', 187.

37 The quotation is from Latvian historian Janis Krodznieks (1851–1924) from a book published 1912–13 in German. This particular quote is from Misans, 'Wir waren immer ein Kriegervolk', 186–7. The question on Henry's nationality still arouses some debate among historians today. With most scholars now agreeing on his German origin, a few Latvian scholars still claim that he was Latvian by birth; see for example Andris Sne, 'The Image of the Other or the Own: Representation of Local Societies in *Heinrici Chronicon*', in *The Medieval Chronicle VI*, ed. Erik Kooper (Utrecht: Rodopi, 2009), 247–60. The importance of the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia to the Latvian and Estonian historians can be seen from the fact that the chronicle was translated into both languages as early as the 1880s; Kaljundi and Klavins, 'The Chronicler and the Modern World', 429 and 445–8.

38 HCL XXI, 4. Before his death Caupo even went to Rome according to the chronicle. Here he was presented to the pope who offered him precious gifts before he returned to Livonia to continue his fight against the pagan enemies of the Livonian Church.

39 Kaljundi and Klavins, 'The Chronicler and the Modern World', 449.

40 Michael S. Neiberg and David Jordan, *The History of World War I: The Eastern Front 1914–1920. From Tannenberg to the Russo-Polish War* (London: Amber Books, 2008, rep. 2012), 146–219; Kasekamp, *A History of the Baltic States*, 95–105. During the civil war in Finland 'the white' were supported by German troops.

41 Kasekamp, *A History of the Baltic States*, 100–3; Neiberg and Jordan, *The Eastern Front 1914–1920*, 166.

42 Bysted et al., *Jerusalem in the North*, 205–9. For a fuller story about the Danish volunteers of 1919, see Niels Jensen, *For Dannebrogs ære. Danske frivillige i Estlands og Letlands frihedskamp 1919* [To the Honor of Dannebrog: Danish Volunteers in the Estonain and Latvian War of Independence 1919] (Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag, 1998); Ann-Mari Borgelin (ed.), *Hvor Dannebrog faldt ned. Kaptajn Richard Gustav Borgelins erindringer fra Den Estiske Frihedskrig* [Where Dannebrog Fell From the Sky: The Memoirs of Captain Richard Gustav Borgelins during the Estonian War of Independence] (Frederiksberg: Bogforlaget Frydenlund, 2012).

43 Tamm, 'History as Cultural Memory', 505–6; Kivimäe, 'Re-writing Estonian History', 208. It is also worth mentioning the reestablishment of the universities in Latvia and Estonia as institutions of cultural awakening of the ethnic Latvians and Estonians as an important part of this renewed struggle for national independence. From now on the university professors had to lecture in either Latvian or Estonian – also the Baltic-German professors had to promise to learn the languages as soon as possible! Especially in the faculties of theology the national sentiments were very strong. The former dominant German theological tradition was challenged by the Latvian and Estonian professors – some even characterized 'the Germanic view on religion . . . as unsuitable for an Estonian soul', cf. Juko Talonen and Priit Rohtmets, 'The Birth and Development of National Evangelical Lutheran Theology in the Baltics from 1918 to 1940', *Journal of Baltic Studies* 45:3 (2014), 345–73, here 352–3.

44 Kaljundi and Klavins, 'The Chronicler and the Modern World', 434.

45 Tamm, 'History as Cultural Memory', 506; Kaljundi and Klavins, 'The Chronicler and the Modern World', 431. The battle of St. Matthew's Day is mentioned in HCL XXI, 2–5.

46 Tamm, 'History as Cultural Memory', 506 and 508–10.
47 Historically the Livish chieftains seems to have been quite pragmatic in realizing that they would gain a lot more by siding with the Germans than by fighting them.
48 Kaljundi and Klavins, 'The Chronicler and the Modern World', 434.
49 Kaljundi and Klavins, 'The Chronicler and the Modern World', 431.
50 Kasekamp, *A History of the Baltic States*, 124.
51 Kasekamp, *A History of the Baltic States*, 129–31.
52 Kasekamp, *A History of the Baltic States*, 132. Following the German occupation an excessive massacres of Jews soon began in the Baltic Region often with the collaboration of local perpetrators, cf. Kasekamp, *A History of the Baltic States*, 135.
53 Ekdahl, 'Crusades and Colonization in the Baltic', 178–9.
54 Ekdahl, 'Crusades and Colonization in the Baltic', 180–1. Ekdahl also points out that Hitler was rather sceptical of the Teutonic Knights, resenting their clerical appearance, their aristocratic attitudes and their Prussian origin. But for propaganda purposes, he accepted their usefulness.
55 In 1909 it had been argued by Estonians that the 'historical mission of Estonia [had been] to protect Russia against the German *Drang nach Osten*'; cf. Kuldkepp, 'The Scandinavian Connection', 327.
56 Misans, 'Wir waren immer ein Kriegervolk', 191.
57 Misans, 'Wir waren immer ein Kriegervolk', 193–5; Kivimäe, 'Re-writing Estonian History', 209.
58 Kivimäe, 'Re-writing Estonian History', 209.
59 Ekdahl, 'Crusades and Colonization in the Baltic', 184. A number of Latvian and Estonian scholars left their homelands at the end of the Second World War and went into exile. Within this community of exiled Baltic historians a different historiography of the Crusades emerged writing off this theory of a century-long Baltic-Russian friendship. Instead, the Russians were seen as nothing but another oppressive foreign power who had ravaged and suppressed the ancient lands of the Latvians and Estonians. They even spoke about a Russian (and later Soviet) '*Drang nach Westen*' equaling that of the German '*Drang nach Osten*', cf. Ekdahl, 'Crusades and Colonization in the Baltic', 185; Misans, 'Wir waren immer ein Kriegervolk', 191 and 198–201.
60 Kasekamp points out that 'Although the achievement of Baltic independence is usually attributed to the collapse of the USSR, the opposite is closer to the truth'; Kasekamp, *A History of the Baltic States*, 171.
61 Tamm, 'History as Cultural Memory', 505–6.
62 Misans, 'Wir waren immer ein Kriegervolk', 205–7.
63 Misans, 'Wir waren immer ein Kriegervolk', 206.
64 Kaljundi and Klavins, 'The Chronicler and the Modern World', 449 and 444; Kuldkepp, 'The Scandinavian Connection', 332–3. Some recent school-books have even treated 'the German conquest as a rather positive element that saved Estonians from potential Russification', cf. Pääbo, 'Constructing Historical Space', 200.

Further reading

Eva Eihmane, 'The Baltic Crusades: Clash of Two Identities', in *The Clash of Cultures on the Medieval Baltic Frontier*, ed. Alan Murray (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 37–52.

Norman Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (Houndmills: Blackwell Publishing, 2006).

Tiina Kala, 'Henry's Chronicle in the Service of Historical Thought: Editors and Editions', in *Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier*, ed. Marek Tamm, Linda Kaljundi and Carsten Selch Jensen (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 385–408.

Jüri Kivimäe, 'Henricus the Ethnographer: Reflections on Ethnicity in the Chronicle of Livonia', in *Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier*, ed. Marek Tamm, Linda Kaljundi and Carsten Selch Jensen (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 77–106.

Kaspars Klavins, 'The Significance of the Local Baltic People in the Defence of Livonia (Late Thirteenth-Sixteenth Centuries)', in *The Clash of Cultures on the Medieval Baltic Frontier*, ed. Alan Murray (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 321–40.

Jean Richard, 'National Feeling and the Legacy of the Crusades', in *Palgrave Advances in the Crusades*, ed. Helen Nicholson (New York: Palgrave, 2005), 204–24.

Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'Revival and Survival', in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 386–91.

Anti Selart, 'The Use and Uselessness of the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia in the Middle Ages', in *Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier*, ed. Marek Tamm, Linda Kaljundi and Carsten Selch Jensen (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 345–62.

Elisabeth Siberry, 'Images of the Crusades in the Ninteenth and Twentieth Centuries', in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 365–85.

Marek Tamm, 'A New World into Old Words: The Eastern Baltic Region and the Cultural Geography of Medieval Europe', in *The Clash of Cultures on the Medieval Baltic Frontier*, ed. Alan Murray (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 11–36.

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